THE OWNERSHIP OF GOODS AND CULTURES OF CONSUMPTION IN LUDLOW, HEREFORD AND TEWKESBURY, 1660-1760

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This work or any part thereof has not been previously presented in any form to the University or to any other body whether for the purposes of assessment, publication or for any other purpose (unless otherwise indicated). Save for any express acknowledgments, references and/ or bibliographies citied in the work, I confirm that the intellectual content of the work is the result of my own efforts and of no other person.

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Abstract

This thesis examines how the lifestyles of the middling sorts evolved during the period 1660 and 1760 as reflected in their relationship to material goods in three contrasting, but geographically near towns. The towns are similar to the degree that their history and circumstances led to them being viewed as backwaters, and this may have influenced consumption practices. Ludlow had lost its importance as the Capital of Wales; it stagnated until its fortunes began to be revived by achieving leisure town status. Hereford was a cathedral city and a county town, but was mainly poorly built and congested. It was locally, rather than nationally important. Tewkesbury was an inland port and a manufacturing centre, but it had been eclipsed by the larger and more successful cities of Bristol and Gloucester.

This study of household goods in the middling interiors of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury between 1660 and 1760 set out first to investigate the extent to which the possessions of the middling ranks reflected their social status. The second aspect is to analyse the geographical spread of new goods in the three towns to determine the extent to which economic circumstances and location influenced consumption. Thirdly, the intention is to determine how status and politeness was expressed in the early modern home. Finally, this study aimed to ascertain what these factors could tell us about early modern consumers in the three towns.

A sample of the domestic goods of the middling ranks from Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury is examined and compared. The material culture of the three towns has previously attracted little academic interest. It is my intention that this thesis on the three towns complements and contributes to the existing bodies of work on early modern regional culture studies.

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Abbreviations

Hereford Record Office	(HRO)
Gloucestershire Record Office	(GRO)
Shropshire Archives	(SA)
The National Archives	(TNA)

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Introduction: The ownership of goods and cultures of consumption in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury 1660-1760

Introduction

The history of the everyday man has become progressively popular with the rise of social history and its increasingly diversified subfields. Interest in the past lives of ordinary people and their families has led to a fascination with bygone living environments. A popular historic theme within and outside academia is the domestic interior; Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant maintain that the west is fascinated by the 'appearance, function and identity of the home'.[1] This interest in the romance of the historic domestic interior and its objects is universal and its widespread attraction is illustrated by the continued popularity of costume dramas, period legal dramas, and antique programmes. There has also been a continuing demand for factual history documentaries.[2] Museums, and The National Trust and English Heritage provide opportunities for the public to view historic artefacts and houses, and these organisations are increasingly acknowledging the importance of servants and the service areas of grand houses as well as the staterooms and their fine furnishings.

Aims of thesis

This thesis examines domestic cultural consumption through household goods in the provincial towns of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury between 1660 and 1760. Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury were on the periphery of fashionable living and consumption, but were cultural backwaters; the Welsh borderland region may have been remote enough from the metropolis to act as a refuge or to be a place of exile.[3] The main investigation of this thesis is to determine the significance of place and status in relation to the levels of ownership within the home. In addition, how individuals behaved in their homes, and whether this behaviour was more formal in 'front-stage' rooms than in other areas will be examined.

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[1] *Imagined Interiors*, ed. by Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2006), p. 103.

[2] For example, Dan Cruickshank, *The Country House Revealed* (BBC 2: Summer 2011); Penelope Keith and Paul Martin, *The Manor Reborn* (BBC 1: Winter 2011); Lucy Worsley, *If Walls Could Talk: An Intimate History of the Home* (BBC 4: Spring 2011); Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors* (BBC 2: Autumn 2010).

[3] Alan Dyer, 'Midlands', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, 1540-1840*, ed. by Peter Clark, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), II, pp. 93-110, (pp. 105-6): John Aubrey argues Ralph Goodwyn was forced to accept the position of Deputy Secretary for The Council of the Marches at Ludlow as it was 'out of the view of the world'. John Aubrey, *Letters Written by Eminent persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1813), II, p. 360.

The nature of the primary source material: probate inventories and wills, dictates that the middling ranks are the focus of this study. This was also the case in Lorna Weatherill's work where, using inventories, she determined that middling rank ownership was complex, with different sections of society owning varying amounts of new and fashionable goods.[4] Weatherill, along with a number of other historians, has acknowledged that there were significant changes within the household during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[5] A major change was the increasing specialisation of room use. It has been debated whether 'front-stage' rooms, for example, were furnished for the benefit and physical comfort of the householders, or whether the ownership of particular goods were linked to the more complex processes of respectability, gentility or overt display. Many 'back-stage' rooms were less heavily invested in, but social behaviour in the home was not straightforward.[6] The relationship between public and private behaviour within the domestic interior is a vital part of this thesis. These areas of the house will be analysed through the status of the people who used them, to illustrate how spaces could only assume refined functions when the householder had a particular level of affluence or had real or perceived social status.

The three towns of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury are compared since, although they are geographically quite close, they are socially, culturally and economically dissimilar. There has been academic research on Ludlow, and the Ludlow Historical Research Group has investigated the surviving architecture of the town. [7]David Lloyd and Susan Wright have examined the composition of Ludlow society using records of annual church tithes, which document family structure and servants. No published work has studied the material culture of the town's residents.[8] The history of Hereford has previously attracted little academic

[4] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), pp. 191-4.
[5] For example: Mark Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004); N. J. G. Pounds, *The Culture of the English People* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*.
[6] Erving Goffman claimed individuals subconsciously presented a constructed image of themselves in different situations; this was later adapted to explain domestic behaviour. Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 32.
[7] Ludlow has been partially examined in my earlier work, which attempted to reconstruct the domestic interior of the town using a number of probate inventories as case studies although of narrower scope than the present work. Karen Egan-Banks, The Domestic Interior and Material Culture of Ludlow 1700-1760 (unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Birmingham, 2004).
[8] David Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow* (Ludlow: Merlin Unwin Books, 1999); Susan Wright, 'Sojourners and Lodgers in a Provincial Town', *Urban History*, 17 (1990), 14-35; Richard Morriss and Ken Hoverd, *The Buildings of Ludlow* (Bath: Sutton, 1993); Wright, 'Holding up Half of the Sky: Women and their Occupations in Eighteenth-Century Ludlow', *Midland History*, 14 (1989), 53-74; Lloyd and Peter Klein, *Ludlow, A Historic Town in Words and Pictures* (Chichester; Phillimore, 1984); David Lloyd, *Property*,

interest. The Woolhope Society has produced articles on a variety of Herefordshire subjects and local historians published short histories of the town in the 1970s and 1980s.[9] However, this balance is beginning to be addressed with the publication of academic research on the town in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.[10] Tewkesbury also has eluded serious academic research; recent published histories are the work of The Tewkesbury Historical Society.[11] This means that the probate documents from Hereford and Tewkesbury, and to a lesser degree Ludlow, have not been used comprehensively to research the early modern domestic interior.

Academic research has become increasingly localised with a number of studies examining English towns or regions; this thesis will complement and contribute to the existing bodies of work on provincial material culture studies.[12] The three towns study allows an opportunity to determine the extent to which metropolitan values were being embraced within the provincial domestic interior, through the employment of new goods. Two of the towns, Ludlow and Hereford form part of the Welsh borderland region; seventeenth and eighteenth-century writers and travellers viewed this area as provincial and unsophisticated compared with the south east of England. Contemporary travellers believed the Welsh economy was backward and perceived that the inhabitants had little experience of urbanization or of English civilized

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Ownership and Improvement in Ludlow, A Fashionable County Town, 1660-1848 (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Wolverhampton, 2005).

[9] For example, Graham Roberts, *The Shaping of Modern Hereford* (Logaston: Logaston Press, 2002); John and Margaret West, *A History of Herefordshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1985); Jim and Muriel Tonkin, *The Book of Hereford* (Chesham: Barracuda Books Ltd, 1975); F. C. Morgan, 'A Hereford Bookseller's Catalogue of 1695', *Transactions of the Woolhope Society*, 31, 1 (1942-45), 22-36; Morgan 'Local Government in Hereford', 31, 1 (1942-45), 37-45; Morgan, 'A Hereford Mercer's Inventory for the Year 1689', 31,1 (1944), 187-200; Morgan, 'Inventories of a Hereford Saddler's Shop in the Years 1692 and 1696', 31, 1 (1945), 253-68; Morgan, 'Philip Clissett, A Bosbury Chair- Maker. Inventory of a Weaver's Goods, 1679', 32, 1 (1946), 16-22.

[10] See: Judith M. Spicksley, *The Business and Household Accounts of Joyce Jeffreys, Spinster of Hereford, 1638-1648* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Alison Toplis, 'A Stolen Garment or a Reasonable Purchase? The Male Consumer and the Illicit Second Hand Trade in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', in *Modernity and the Second-Hand Trade, European Consumption Cultures and Practices, 1700-1900*, ed. by Jon Stobart and Ilja Van Damme (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), pp. 57-72.

[11] Norah Day, *They Used to Live in Tewkesbury* (Stroud: Sutton, 1991); Anthea Jones, *Tewkesbury* (Guildford: Philimore, 1987); Kathleen Ross, *The Book of Tewkesbury* (Buckingham: Barracuda, 1986).

[12] These are regional studies by: Eleanor John, 'At Home with the London Middling Sort- The Inventory Evidence for Furnishings and Room Use, 1570-1720,' *Regional Furniture*, 22 (2008), 27-51; Overton and others, *Production and Consumption*; John Beckett and Catherine Smith, 'Urban Renaissance and Consumer Revolution in Nottingham, 1688-1750', *Urban History*, 27 (2000), 31-50; Jon Stobart, 'Shopping Streets as Social Space: Leisure, Consumerism and Improvement in an Eighteenth-Century County Town', *Urban History*, 25, 1 (1998), 3-21; Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class* (London: Methuen, 1989); A. McInnes, 'The Emergence of a Leisure Town: Shrewsbury 1660-1850', *Past and Present*, 120 (1988), 53-84; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*.

codes.[13] M. A. Faraday claims that 'about a third of people buried in sixteenth-century Ludlow were Welsh', although determining Welshness or any other cultural slant from probate documents is problematic, as these sources rarely state the origins of people or goods.[14] However, the three towns were all sufficiently far geographically from London and other large fashionable centres to provide a suitable focus for considering the spread of new and fashionable goods.

Studying middling rank domestic interiors

The majority of the material that survives for the middling ranks are probate documents, which provide an indication of the size of houses and their contents. There are few pictorial sources for this social group as most seventeenth and eighteenth-century urban illustrations and paintings depict topographical views of towns. Although, like the gentry, some wealthier members of the middling ranks had portraits painted, many of the backgrounds were idealised, imagined or allegorical.[15] Hannah Greig argues 'it was only during the 1700s that representations of interiors featured in English visual culture in any significant way', presumably she is referring to the gentry, as images of middling rank interiors remain scarce.[16]

Peter Thornton illustrates the lack of pictorial evidence for middling rank interiors; he scoured British, European and American museums for domestic images. He used French, German and Dutch pictures that reflected a broad social spectrum, but the English depictions of interiors are mostly from gentry houses.[17] This situation is clearly demonstrated in an edited collection of English pictorial evidence for the domestic interior by David Dewing for the Geffrye Museum; the first volume spans1675-1914, whilst the second covers 1914 to 2006.[18] The long time-span of the first book demonstrates the scarcity of visual sources. Studies of seventeenth and eighteenth-century domestic furniture attempt to provide illustrations of objects within the context of the home. However, these mainly rely on

[13] Lloyd Bowen, 'Representations of Wales and the Welsh during the Civil Wars and Interregnum', *Institute of Historical Research*, 77, 197 (2004), 358-376, (p. 360).
[14] M. A. Faraday, *Ludlow, 1085-1660* (Chichester: Philimore, 1991), p. 142.
[15] Alastair Laing, *In Trust for the Nation, Paintings from National Trust Houses* (London: National Trust, 1995), p. 51.
[16] Hannah Greig, 'Eighteenth-Century English Interiors in Image and Text' in *Imagined Interiors* ed. by Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2006), pp. 102-27, (p. 103).
[17] Peter Thornton, *Authentic Décor: The Domestic Interior, 1620-1920* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995), pp. 51-121; Thornton, *Authentic Décor*, pp. 62-121.
[18] David Dewing, *Home and Garden* (London: The Geffrye Museum, 2003).

photographs of surviving pieces, and surviving drawings that were often influenced by romanticism in the early nineteenth century. Social commentators appeared to veer between two poles, attempting to capture the grandeur of the country house or illustrating the poverty, overcrowding and squalor of the poor.[19] Many of these middling ranks artists may have seen nothing exceptional in recording their own familiar interiors for posterity.

Many middling rank urban properties have survived, but not in the condition that their owners would recognise. Although the exteriors of the buildings have remained essentially intact, multiple ownerships and tenancies have resulted in extensively altered and modernised interiors. Consequently, the majority of these domestic interiors cannot be examined in the same way as those belonging to the gentry. Another major difference between the middling ranks and those above them is that as their place of residence was usually their only home, the contents have not always survived. Household goods were usually dispersed after the death of the testator amongst family and friends as tokens of remembrance or as a potential source of revenue.

Aristocratic interiors have been avoided in this study as these have been well documented by historians like Mark Girouard and Nicolas Cooper.[20] Their country house studies were made possible because many of the residences continue to exist with their original contents, plans and receipts. These grand edifices differ from middling rank houses because they were never merely homes; they were powerhouses full of social and political meaning and intent.[21] To a lesser extent, some middling rank homes also projected the householder's status and social position and this process intensified during the period.

The early modern home

The early modern period is characterised by the rise of the home as we recognise it today. Some historians claim the beginnings of the consumer revolution can be traced as far back as the sixteenth century, as the rich had been importing foreign luxuries since the Middle Ages.

[19] Bebb suggests that a number of the amateur gentlemen historians who recorded the interiors of grand houses were local clerics. Those that painted the poor were often visitors who aimed to capture 'an idyllic peasant way of life or rural poverty'. Bebb, *Welsh Furniture,* p. 57

[20] Nicholas Cooper, 'Rank, Manners and Display, The Gentlemanly House, 1500-1700', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 12 (2002), 291-310; Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1980).

[21] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House,* p. 2.

William Harrison, in 1577, maintained that even the tenant farmer was far wealthier than previously, as he possessed surplus capital and a:

> fair garnish of pewter on his cupboard, with so much more in odd vessel going about the house, three or four feather beds, so many coverlids and carpets of tapestry, a silver salt, a bowl for wine (if not a whole neast), and a dozen of spoons to furnish up the suit.[22]

However, Carole Shammas refutes this contemporary view by maintaining that a characteristic of the beginning of the early modern period was a lack of dining equipment and sufficient furniture for the sociable side of domesticity. [23] John Styles also suggests that we should be cautious about the amount of goods that were obtainable.[24] Nevertheless, Neil McKendrick insists that by the eighteenth century, far more of the population were able to purchase 'not only necessities, but decencies and even luxuries'.[25] Clive Edwards and Sara Warneke later expanded this claim by declaring that the increased availability of goods fuelled people's desires to own new and elegant things. Edwards suggests this is due to contemporaries having recognised these objects as markers of status and power.[26] Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood first put this proposal forward by asserting that commodities could act as a language, which allowed consumers to communicate with other consumers.[27]

Historians have long argued that the social and cultural changes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries drove demand for new and decorative goods amongst all levels of society.[28] These changes have been described as the consumer and industrial revolutions. However, the timing and effects of these revolutions or evolutions have been much debated by historians.

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[22] William Harrison wrote his 'Description of England' in the *Holinshed's Chronicle* in 1577. <http://www.fordham.edu.halsall/mod/1577harrison-england.html#Chapter%20VIII> Accessed [19 March 2007]

[23] C. Shammas, 'The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America', *The Journal of Social History*, 14 (1980), 3-24, (p. 8).

[24] John Styles, 'Product Innovation in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 168 (2000), 124-169, (124).

[25] McKendrick and others, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, p. 9.

[26] Clive Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes, A History of the Retailing and Consumption of Domestic Furnishings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 21; Sara Warneke, 'A Taste for Newfangledness: The Destructive Potential of Novelty in early Modern England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26, 4 (1995), 881-896, (p. 881).

[27]John Storey, *Cultural Consumption and Everyday Life* (London: Arnold, 1999), pp. 42-4;
Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 41-5.

[28] Jan de Vries, 'The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution', *The Journal of Economic History*, 54, 2 (1994), 249-70; de Vries, 'Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods: Understanding the Household Economy in Early Modern Europe', in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. by J. Brewer and R. Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 85-132, (pp. 91-114).

As well as noting differences over time and across status, historians have also considered the influence of location. The urban middling ranks were seen as more aware of new goods and groceries than their rural counterparts were; this manifested itself by an increased desire to look inward towards the home and family.[29]

Material culture and consumption theory

Margaret Spufford suggests William Hoskins in 1950 and Joan Thirsk in 1953 pioneered research on probate inventories. While these documents were created in earlier centuries, they survive in large numbers for the middling ranks from the mid-seventeenth century to the first three decades of the eighteenth century. Hoskins and Thirsk used inventories to investigate early modern agriculture.[30] However, probate inventories do not appear to have been used to explore material culture until the 1970s; the first studies were lists of transcribed inventories, such as those written by John S. Moore or Barry Trinder and Jeff Cox.[31] These early texts provided introductions and glossaries to explain the use of archaic terms for household and trade implements, but the significance of these documents was only partially evaluated. Some early American studies were more analytical, for example, Susan Prendergast Schoelwer's 1979 article explained the use of textiles. She quantitatively examined 324 inventories and correlated the results investigating wealth, occupation and status allowing 'patterns of introduction and dissemination' to be established.[32]

It was not until Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and John H. Plumb's 1982, *The Birth of a Consumer Society* that investigations of early modern ownership habits moved out of the domain of local historians into mainstream academic research. Their enthusiastic and persuasive work was a response to the relative lack of attention paid to consumption history. It not only began the early modern consumption debate, but also caused controversy with McKendrick's interpretation of theories of emulation and conspicuous consumption by

[29] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, pp. 81-3.
[30] Margaret Spufford, 'The Limitations of the Probate Inventory', in *English Rural Society, 1500-1800*, ed. by John Chartres and David Hey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 139-174, (p. 141); *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, ed. by Joan Thirsk, 8 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967-2011), V (1984); W. G. Hoskins, *Essays in Leicestershire History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1950).
[31] *The Goods and Chattels of our forefathers: Frampton Cotterell and District Probate Inventories, 1539-1804*, ed. by John S. Moore (London and Chichester: Philimore, 1976); *Yeomen and Colliers in Telford: Probate Inventories for Dawley, Lilleshall, Wellington and Wrockwardine, 1660-1750*, ed. by Barrie Trinder and Jeff Cox (Chichester: Phillimore, 1980).
[32] Susan Prendergast Schoelwer, 'Form, Function, and Meaning in the Use of Fabric furnishings, A Philadelphia Case Study', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 4, 1 (1979), 25-40, (p. 40).

Thorstein Veblen, and the 'trickle down' theory of Georg Simmel.[33] McKendrick challenged traditional opinion by claiming a 'consumer revolution' kick-started the industrial revolution as consumption propelled production.[34] Historians now accept that widespread consumption was not linked to elite expenditure alone, and the idea that the elite response to consumption trickled down to lower social groups is too simplistic to explain the developments in overall consumption behaviour.[35]

Weatherill undermined McKendrick's Veblenesque theory when her consumption hierarchy, which relies on the ownership of goods by individuals, revealed a more complex picture. She maintains the gentry were not a legally defined group, and were a mixture of men, women, rural and urban, rich and poor. Yeomen, the status group below the gentry, owned the least amount of new and decorative goods, whilst those in the prosperous manufacturing trades and commercial sector owned the most expressive goods. The emulation model proposed by McKendrick suggests that the gentry were the biggest consumers, allowing the ranks below to imitate them. Another complication was that many of those in the higher middling ranks originated from gentry stock. With little prospect of inheriting wealth they may have taken up a lucrative trade or profession, thus blurring the social distinction.[36]

A number of historians using probate inventories have tested McKendrick's perceived timing of the consumer revolution in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. This research used probate inventories to extend what was known about domestic consumption habits and the ownership of goods. There are five main large-scale studies; these are Overton et al, (2004), Carl B. Estabrook, (1998), Shammas, (1990), Peter Earle, (1989) and Weatherill, (1988).[37] Inventory based research is invaluable because it informs us as to the types of objects that the middling ranks owned, whereas claims in contemporary advertising about popular consumption are difficult to substantiate.[38] These studies illustrate that there was not a single

[33] McKendrick and others, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*; *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. by K. H. Wolf (New York: Stein and Day, 1964); Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York and London: Macmillan, 1899).
[34] McKendrick and others, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, pp. 3-5, 11.
[35] Maxine Berg, 'Consumption in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Britain', in *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, ed. by Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), I, pp. 357-86, (p. 357).
[36] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, pp. 169-80.
[37] See: Overton and others, *Production*; Carl B. Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer;* Earle; *The Making of the English Middle Class*; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*.
[38] McKendrick and others, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, p. 5.

experience of consumption, and consumers made different choices, the wealthy middling ranks in Overton et al's Kent sample did not behave in the same way as Earle's socially competitive tradesmen in London.[39] Grant McCracken also challenges the 'trickle down' theory propounded by McKendrick, arguing instead for an 'upward chase and flight' pattern created by a subordinate group'.[40] McCracken sees consumption as a 'cultural phenomenon'. One of his key arguments is that the availability of new goods eroded the value of patinated, that is to say, aged goods amongst the rich. Previously, old furniture and possessions were used to demonstrate a long-standing claim to ancestry and thereby a superior status.[41]

The next significant development that pushed forward material culture studies was John Brewer and Roy Porter's *Consumption and the World of Goods*. This work contains an edited collection of articles by leading social, economic and cultural historians, and acts as a framework for subsequent research on consumption studies.[42] This led to the culturally based volume, *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800,* which explores the possible meanings behind art and literature.[43] These books together illustrate the breadth and multi-dimensional range of disciplines that consumption history incorporates, as it continues to diversify.

The inexhaustibility of consumption and consumerism studies is illustrated by the amount and specialization of continuing publications. Jon Stobart claims 'consumption has emerged as a meta-narrative of historical enquiry'.[44] This means that historical surveys are necessary to understand the development and progression of material culture theory. These summarize the research of historians and provide an overview to help unravel the complexity of consumption theory and clarify the main arguments. The surveys also provide opportunities for further research by determining undeveloped areas of study; examples of these have been produced by, for example Sara Pennell, Jonathan White and John Storey.[45]

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[39] H. R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England 1600-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 147, 150.
[40] Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption* (Bloomington and Indianapolis Indiana: University Press, 1990), pp. i-xiii.
[41] McCracken, *Culture and Consumption*, p. 94
[42] *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. by J. Brewer and R. Porter (London and New York: Routledge. 1993).
[43] *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800, Image, Object, Text*, ed. by Ann Bermingham and Brewer (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 3.
[44] Jon Stobart, 'Gentlemen and Shopkeepers: Supplying the Country House in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Economic History Review*, 64, 3 (2011), 885-904, (p. 885).
[45] Jonathan White, 'A World of Goods? The 'Consumption Turn' and Eighteenth-Century British History', *Cultural and Social History*, 3, 1 (2006), 93-104; Sara Pennell 'Consumption and Consumerism in Early

Material culture studies, developed from the social sciences, today involve historians from a variety of backgrounds. This is reflected in the numerous branches of research, for example, social history, women's history, urban history, economic history and design history. Aynsley and Grant argue that there is a trend for current studies to 'work across disciplinary boundaries'.[46] In the instance of social and women's history, material culture studies provides opportunities to examine those who are often hidden from, or ignored by, mainstream history.

Urban history, previously a discrete field of research, has become entwined with material culture; John Beckett and Catherine Smith argue interest in provincial urban consumption developed in the 1980s.[47] This was at a time when the modern infringements of supermarkets, shopping centres and retail parks began to destroy the ancient fabric of towns by relocating commerce away from the traditional high street. A prime example of this is Shepton Mallet; the main street is virtually devoid of essential shops because of a large supermarket outside the town. This fear of the redundancy of traditional shopping streets led to large-scale national works such as *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain,* which records the past significance of English towns and regions. The authors claim that lessons from the past can provide solutions for the future, demonstrating that previous urban decline has been reversed.[48] Other urban history studies argue for the transformation and development of provincial towns as sites for commerce, culture, leisure, living and shopping.[49]

John Styles and Amanda Vickery argue that during the 1990s 'historians were riveted by the issue of national and regional identity'.[50] This led to a proliferation of urban and regional-based material culture studies. These collectively add to our knowledge of the patterns of consumption in early modern England.[51]

Modern England', *Historical Journal,* 42, 2 (1999), pp.549-64; Storey, *Cultural Consumption and Everyday Life*.

[46] *Imagined Interiors,* ed. by Aynsley and Grant, p. 10.

[47] Beckett and Smith, 'Urban Renaissance', p. 31.

[48] *Cambridge Urban History,* ed. by Clark, pp. xix-xx.

[49] Rosemary Sweet, *The English Town 1680-1840, Government, Society and Culture* (London: Longman 1999); P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989).

[50] *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America*, ed. by John Styles and Amanda Vickery (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 2. See also *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. by Clark; Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance;* Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class;* Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*.

[51] For example, Beckett and Smith, 'Urban Renaissance and Consumer Revolution in Nottingham'; Stobart, 'Shopping Streets as Social Space'; McInnes, 'The Emergence of a Leisure Town'.

One dimension of consumption research that impacts on this project is the comparison between urban and rural consumers. The urban middling ranks were seen as the social group who were most aware of new consumption practices and goods, partly because of their greater availability in urban towns and cities.[52] This theme has been investigated by Overton et al, Estabrook, Weatherill, and Shammas.[53] Estabrook further develops the notion of different cultures between towns and the countryside by suggesting the residents of villages resisted urban culture, whilst town dwellers regarded rural inhabitants as inferior. This resulted in the two groups remaining apart with few opportunities to converge.[54] Overton et al disagree with Weatherill's notion of towns encouraging consumption; they claim that wealth and status were the deciding factors. The results of their study of Kent and Cornwall suggests that many of the Kent middling ranks adopted new practices and purchased new groceries and commodities.[55] However, Overton et al's tables are mostly formulated using the evidence from Kent, as the Cornish inventories had lower value movables with few recorded expressive goods, and they rarely specified individual rooms.[56] The consumption habits of Overton et al's Cornish sample are in many ways similar to the middling ranks of the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample in this study.

Shammas was an early pioneer of consumption history; her analysis of the pre-industrial societies of sixteenth-century Oxfordshire and seventeenth-century Worcestershire and America seeks to explain the transformation of the domestic interior from a traditional style to one which provided improved levels of comfort and a more varied material culture. She argues new goods were affordable because people worked longer hours and were paid cash.[57] De Vries later expanded this proto-industrialisation model.[58] However, Overton et al have pointed to an inconsistency in her analysis, as she uses total inventory value to indicate wealth, but uses value of goods to assess consumption patterns, and this distorts her results.[59] Shammas is also reluctant to identify the new consumers as being from the middling ranks.[60]

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[52] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 81.
[53] Overton and others, *Production;* Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic*; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*; Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer.*
[54] Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England,* pp. 134-41, 276.
[55] Overton and others, *Production,* pp. 102, 177.
[56] For example, Tables 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 6.6.Overton and others, *Production,* pp. 124-132.
[57] Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer,* pp. 8, 185, 188, 291-9.
[58] De Vries, 'Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods', ed. by Brewer and Porter, pp. 85-132.
[59] Overton and others, *Production,* pp. 138-9, 165. Shammas' data deficiency also appears in H. R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England 1600-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.146.
[60] French, *The Middle Sort of People,* p. 141.

Male Consumption

McKendrick argues that male clothing consumption threatened the social order, whereas women's desire for new and fashionable commodities was responsible for cultural change.[61] However, Margot Finn revisited male consumption, originally discussed by McKendrick; her research highlights the expenditure habits of four men through their surviving diaries. She claims men were also active consumers who purchased all types of commodities. Associated with this was an element of self-fashioning.[62] David Hussey recently studied male consumption practices, using diary evidence, to illustrate that everyday shopping for necessities was not a female only activity; men also practised it successfully.[63]

Female Consumption

Maxine Berg takes a different approach to urban middling consumption habits by analysing the changing role of luxury. In her investigation into female consumption habits in Sheffield and Birmingham, Berg examines the function of newly available and affordable middle range goods aimed at the rising middling ranks.[64] Weatherill's earlier investigations into differences in male and female ownership led her to conclude that the variations were not enough to point to a separate sub-culture. Similarly, Shammas insists there are too few female inventories to allow a direct comparison in quantitative studies. However, Berg believes there was a female sub-culture and this is illustrated through bequests in wills.[65]

Marcia Pointon, in a similar way to Berg, investigates the female luxury market, but she examines the display of extravagant goods rather than the ownership of average quality items aimed at the middling consumer. Pointon's motivation is 'the relationship of women to the world of possession and representation'.[66] To do this, Pointon uses a variety of sources, for

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[61] McKendrick and others, *The Birth of a Consumer Society.* pp. 53-61.
[62] Margot Finn, 'Men's things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution', *Social History*, 25, 2 (2000), 703-722, (154).
[63] David Hussey, 'Guns, Horses and Stylish Waistcoats? Male Consumer Activity and Domestic Shopping in Late-Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century England', in *Buying for the Home: Shopping for the Domestic from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, ed. by David Hussey and Margaret Ponsonby (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2008), pp. 47-69, (pp. 68-9).
[64] Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); *Consumers and Luxury*, *Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850*, ed. by Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Berg, 'Women's Consumption and the Industrial Classes of Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Social History*, 30, 2 (1996), 415-434, (416).
[65] Weatherill, 'A Possession of One's Own: Women and Consumer Behaviour in England, 1660-1740', *Journal of British Studies*, 25 (1986), 131-156, (p. 156); Shammas, 'The Domestic Environment', 15; Berg, 'Women's Consumption', 415-434, (p. 429).
[66] Marcia Pointon, *Strategies for Showing: Women, Possession, and Representation in English Visual Culture 1665-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 2.

example, wills, diaries and paintings, which are analysed to understand female attitudes to their possessions.

Feminine modes of consumption are an important aspect of material culture studies. Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace investigates perceived notions of female consumption by examining eighteenth-century literature. These novels, written by men, illustrate the idea that women's consumptive behaviour was predatory, and that women were insatiable in their desires for new luxuries and exotic goods. [67] It is unlikely that these novels echo lived experience; they most likely illustrate elements of the worst imagined traits of female behaviour. Pointon uses Elizabeth Harley's letters in a similar way to demonstrate women's desire for luxury goods.[68] Amanda Vickery conversely, using the diary of Elizabeth Shackleton, refutes the notion that women overspent on luxury and fashion. She claims that the middling ranks did not copy the gentry; they purchased goods and clothing that fitted their own assumed place in society.[69] However, Pennell questions the validity of using single woman examples to explain wider female consumption practices.[70] Her work on consumption and consumerism leads her to believe that women's lowly status during the early modern period meant they were not major consumers. She also insists that there is not an overriding theory to replace the discredited emulation theory.[71]Pennell's major contribution to academia is as an early modern foodways historian who, utilising the neglected source of recipe books, researches the kitchen and the possible meanings behind its utensils.[72]

The purchasing of second hand goods has become a recognised theme in material culture studies. Beverley Lemire began the investigation by examining the lure of a change of wardrobe, even when it involved purchasing or stealing used clothing.[73] Her research mainly

[67] Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).
[68] Pointon, *Strategies for Showing*, pp. 15-7.
[69] Vickery, 'Women and the World of Goods' in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. by Brewer and Porter, pp. 274-301, (pp. 276,292, 280-281).
[70] Pennell 'Consumption and Consumerism', p. 554.
[71] Pennell, 'Consumption and Consumerism', pp. 553-4.
[72] Sara Pennell, 'Mundane Materiality, or, Should Small Things Still be Forgotten?' *History and Material Culture*, ed. by Karen Harvey (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 173-91; Pennell, 'Pots and Pans History', *Journal of Design History*, 11, 3 (1998), 201-15.
[73] B. Lemire, 'The Theft of Clothes and Popular Consumerism in Early Modern England', *Journal of Social History*, 24 (1990), 255-75. See also Sara Pennell, 'All but the Kitchen sink': Household Sales and the Circulation of Second-Hand Goods in Early Modern England,' *Modernity and the Second-Hand Trade, European Consumption Cultures and Practices, 1700-1900*, ed. by Jon Stobart and Ilja Van Damme, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), pp. 37-56. This has led to an investigation of other aspects of the second hand market, for example, Clive Edwards and Margaret Ponsonby, 'Desirable Commodity or Practical

centres on the global distribution and implications of consumer goods, particularly the use and economic consequences of imported textiles. Lemire examines the effect of gender on consumption by pointing to fashion as being the driving force behind cultural change.[74] However, inventory evidence does not allow for the exploration of the source of goods. Inventories can be evaluated for fashionableness only at the time the documents were drawn up, often many years after the goods were purchased.

The desire to be fashionable has been seen as a major drive behind the consumer revolution. Tied up with this are discussions on the impact and desirability of foreign trade and goods. Historians such as John Styles and Maxine Berg have explored this debate. They maintain that British manufacturers were able to fulfil consumer demand by producing goods that imitated foreign styles and materials. They also highlight another strand of the consumer debate: the desire for novelty and exotic items, which are sometimes detected in inventory lists.[75]

This section has highlighted some of the key debates, and the work of historians who have contributed to the discussions around consumption and consumerism. Nonetheless, there are still aspects on the ownership of goods that require investigation. The great quantitative studies of Weatherill, Shammas and Overton et al are the backbone of early modern inventory research, but the numbers of documents that they analyze are too numerous to be able to assess the correct social status of individuals. [76] This is due to the limited amount of information recorded; Overton and others have been criticized because they have occasionally drawn speculative conclusions.[77] The smaller number of probate documents in

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Necessity? The Sale and Consumption of Second-Hand Furniture, 1750-1900', in *Buying for the Home,* ed. by David Hussey and Margaret Ponsonby, pp. 117-37.

[74] Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1600-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Lemire and Riello, 'East & West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Social History*, 41, 4 (2008), 887-916, (887).

[75] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); *Design and the Decorative Arts*, ed. by Snodin and Styles; Styles, 'Product Innovation in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 168 (2000) 124-169; Berg, 'Women's Consumption', 415-434.

[76] Overton and others, *Production;* Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*; Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer.*

[77] For example, Overton et al claim numerous tablecloths were owned as a hangover of a medieval dining practice of removing a layer of cloth after each course. Most households that had a large quantity of table linen owned various qualities that had been accumulated over a long time; it is unlikely they would have used all their tablecloths in one sitting due to the impracticalities of washing and drying. Overton and others, *Production,* p. 110. Shammas claimed Overton et al had a 'limited view' and refused to analyse their inventory samples by wealth; this led to 'some less than convincing conclusions. Carole Shammas, *Shammas on Overton et al, Production and Consumption in English Households. 1600-1750*_ E.H. Net, (2005), <http://eh.net/content/shammas-overton-et-al-production-consumption-english-households> Accessed [3 July 2012].

this thesis however, allows wills and other documents to be compared with inventories to provide a truer account of provincial middling rank status.

Cultural consumption

Fashion has frequently been seen as the driving force behind lifestyle change during the eighteenth century, but some sociologists offer the different explanation of cultural consumption, which has been interpreted in a number of ways.[78] This thesis uses the theory and meaning of Pierre Bourdieu: that cultural consumption is used to secure legitimate forms of power and to mark and maintain social distinction.[79] However, since Bourdieu's ideas were based in 1970s France, his arguments need to be adapted. This thesis explores the extent to which people's possessions are conduits that illustrate and reinforce social position. The domestic objects in inventories and wills will be analysed to determine the extent to which they are social markers of position and lifestyle. However, Woodruff D. Smith points out that status achieved through the purchasing of goods are 'only part of the modern phenomenon of status consumption'.[80] The influence of status on middling consumption habits will be investigated through the probate documents of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury.

Consumption habits in early modern Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury

This thesis compares the domestic goods owned by a small sample of middling rank inhabitants whose probate documents date between 1662 and 1753; this social group was wealthy enough to be able to afford many of the new and expressive goods.[81] They were not as wealthy as the gentry were, and their purchases therefore may reflect the social and cultural values held by their particular social group. Examining this section of society provides the opportunity to compare ownership and use. The three provincial towns of Ludlow, Hereford, and Tewkesbury are suitable subjects for this study because their economic and social positions were all challenged in different ways during the early modern period. Ludlow was a town in crisis at the beginning of this study due to the abolition of the Council of the Marches; this removed the need for English and Welsh gentry to require accommodation and services in the town. By the end of the period, Ludlow was becoming

[78] For example, Grant McCracken; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction* (London: Routledge, 1986); *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. by Kurt H. Wolff (New York: The Free Press, 1964); Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*.
[79] Bourdieu, *Distinction* explained by Storey, *Cultural Consumption*, pp. 44-45.
[80] Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), p. 25.
[81] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 189.

prosperous again by fulfilling the role of a leisure town.[82] Hereford was the county capital, but during the early modern period, the city quietly stagnated due to a lack of local raw materials suitable for industrial exploitation, together with the distance from large urban markets.[83] Tewkesbury was a river port and manufacturing centre, but it was eclipsed by the larger and more successful neighbouring port of Gloucester. Tewkesbury's heyday was in the first half of the seventeenth century, within living memory of some of the people examined in this thesis. It is possible that the desire for new and fashionable goods was influenced by the nature of these towns.

A number of avenues were explored before the direction of this thesis was decided upon; the three towns were visited on a number of occasions to view the surviving ancient architecture, the street layout and the town's museums.[84] The parish church of St. Laurence, Ludlow, Hereford Cathedral and Tewkesbury Abbey were examined for memorials and tombstones relating to people in the probate sample, as were the sites of the former Council of the Marches headquarters, including Castle Lodge House, the castle and its grounds. Numerous visits were made to Shropshire Archives, Hereford Record Office and Gloucester Record Office. Hereford also has a Museum and Resource Centre where researchers may examine and handle artefacts. This thesis was originally intended to be more object- based, with an examination of the luxury goods of silver, jewellery, pictures and books, together with a specific study focusing on mourning jewellery and funeral customs. However, after inspecting and photographing Hereford's early modern silver collection, it became apparent that these acquisitions could not be directly linked with testators since details of provenance are unknown. Another anticipated area of research was to have been the influence of religious non-conformity on middling rank domestic goods, on the grounds of Tewkesbury's long history of religious dissent. However, identifying non-conformists proved to be problematic as individuals attended both the parish church and dissenting places of worship and most

[82] Borsay argues these towns 'offered a highly standardised package of entertainment services', these were 'assemblies, plays, concerts, libraries, racing, gaming, card playing, luxury shops and a town guide'. Borsay, 'Health and Leisure Resorts 1700-1840', in *The Cambridge Urban History*, ed. by Clark, pp. 775-805, (p. 799). See also Jon Stobart and Leonard Schwarz, 'Leisure, Luxury and Urban Specialization in the Eighteenth Century', *Urban History*, 35, 2 (2008), 216-36.
[83] Roberts, *The Shaping of Modern Hereford*, p. 4.
[84] These were Ludlow Museum, Hereford Museum and Art Gallery, The Old House Museum and Tewkesbury Museum.

were buried in the parish churchyard.[85] Time constraints have meant this work will be considered as a future project.

Introduction to sources used

This thesis relies on a number of primary sources, but mainly probate documents from Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury. Taxation schedules provide insights into the whereabouts of properties and their size, indicated by the numbers of windows and hearths listed. Nevertheless, many inhabitants were exempt from paying taxes, and the possessions of these individuals were not all subject to probate. Consequently, there are a significant number of townspeople of whom we know nothing other than their name, birth, death, marriage and the number of their children.

Ludlow is fortunate in its surviving primary sources in addition to probate documents. There are several window tax schedules and 'The Members of Ludlow Corporation, 1660-1832', [86] as well as printed sources such as churchwarden's accounts, the 1667 Poll Tax, the 1672 Hearth Tax and parish registers.[87] The Ludlow Poll Tax of 1667 records members of each household and their servants. Tax records to some extent illustrate middling rank attitudes, as many individuals recorded as 'gentlemen' in their inventories and wills were not listed as such in the Poll Tax record, as this would have meant paying £1 for the privilege.[88] The Ludlow Hearth Tax was useful in providing an indication of the size of a property by recording the number of hearths within a dwelling, as well as the amount of tax paid and the ward in which an individual lived. In addition, the Easter Books survive; these are eighteenth-century records of church taxation. Unusually for the period, these documents provide details of family structure, apprentices, servants and lodgers, although children under sixteen were omitted.[89] The Easter books recorded church tithe annually, which allows changes in household structure to be analysed. Although the Ludlow parish registers survive, there were

[85] *A History of the County of Gloucester*, *Victoria County History*, ed. by C. R. Elrington, 12 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), VIII, p. 163.
[86]This is a document compiled by and available from *The Ludlow Historical Research Group.*
[87] These were used to analyze status and to provide bibliographical information. Although this information is referred to in the thesis, it is also used in the appendix. M. A. Faraday, 'The Ludlow Poll-Tax Return of 1667', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, 59, 2 (1976), 104-123; *The Shropshire Hearth-Tax Roll of 1672*, ed. by W. Watkins-Pitchford (Shrewsbury: Shropshire Archaeological and Parish Register Society, 1949); Llewellyn Jones, 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow, (1629-1749)', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, 2 (1892), 119-284; *Shropshire Parish Registers, Diocese of Hereford, Ludlow*, ed. by W. G. D. Fletcher, 15 vols (Shrewsbury: Shropshire Parish Register Society, 1912), VIII.
[88] Faraday, 'The Ludlow Poll-Tax Return of 1667', (105).
[89] Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow*, p.105.

no entries between 1646 and 1661; the baptisms of a number of testators therefore remain unrecorded, but indications of age are suggested in wills and in the Easter Books.[90]

The City of Hereford has a large number of probate documents from 1662 until 1771, which helpfully refer to the parish of the testator and help to locate people within the town's geography.[91] Hereford also holds the 1665 Hearth Tax, which divided the city into five wards.[92] Despite the crowded conditions, many wills mention land outside the city walls, suggesting that open ground was not far away, making the town semi-rural in places. This is also implied by the number of yeoman and farmers who were described as living in the suburbs. There are also some printed sources, for example, a 1796 history of the town by John Price listing Members of Parliament and Mayors.[93]

Tewkesbury has fewer surviving probate documents and taxation schedules than Ludlow and Hereford. However, the 1671 Hearth Tax exists and lists the town's principal streets: High Street, Church Street and Barton Street. There are also printed sources that allow insights into the lives, social positions and locations of inhabitants, for example, the list of mayors, town clerks, coroners, recorders and bailiffs, 1574-1829 by James Bennett; Day's lists of the 1638 ship tax, apprentices and freemen; memorials in the Abbey Churchyard and the 1698 record of fines imposed by Tewkesbury Corporation.[94]

The three towns had varying numbers of surviving inventories and wills, with the fewest number in Tewkesbury. To attempt to compensate for the shortfall of documents a sampling method was required. The documents were divided into ten-year segments to make Tewkesbury probate sources more comparable with the other two towns. Finally two years per decade was decided upon between 1662 and 1753 to provide a sufficient, if small, sample of documents, beginning with 1662 and 1663. The probate sample needed to begin in 1662 because no Hereford diocesan wills have survived before this date.[95]

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[90] *Shropshire Parish Registers*, ed. by Fletcher, p. vi.
[91] These were the churches of St. Peter, St. John the Baptist, St. Owen, St Nicholas, St. Martin and All Saints.
[92] These were Byster's ward, Wye Bridge Ward, Eigne Ward, St. Owen's Ward and Widemarsh Ward. Hereford Record Office, AM 29/1, J. Harnden, *The Hearth Taxation Assessment for Michaelmas 1665 for Herefordshire* (unpublished transcript, 1984).
[93] John Price, *An Historical Account of the City of Hereford* (Hereford: Walker, 1796), pp. 247-62.
[94] Day, pp. 54- 257; James Bennett, *The History of Tewkesbury* (Trowbridge and Esther: Redwood Burn Ltd, 1830), pp. 115-425.
[95] The lack of Hereford diocesan probate documents between 1600 and 1660 affects Ludlow and Hereford research.

This study is the result of almost ten years of part time study and research and methods have changed during this time. Originally, an electronic database was seen as unnecessary with the small sample of probate documents. As a result, tables and statistics were formulated manually, though it is recognised that this weakens the quantitative aspect of the research. If this study were to be conducted today, the probate documents would be selected and analysed differently. The probate sample would include all the available documents for Tewkesbury, and a five-year sampling segment out of each decade would be selected for Ludlow and Hereford. This would require a computerised database that would aid the generating of statistics. Another change would be the inclusion of eighteenth- century newspapers; it is possible that adverts in these sources would illustrate the types of goods that were nationally available to the middling ranks.

The research uses either the made or the proved dates that fall within the sample for the probate documents. This resulted in a selection of 91 inventories and 106 wills for Ludlow, 146 inventories and 122 wills in the Hereford sample and 51 inventories and 59 wills in the Tewkesbury selection.[96] All the available inventories and wills from the sample years have been used with the exception of one or two indecipherable ones.

Probate inventories and wills as a source

Probate inventories and wills are legal documents that have been used by historians in ways that were never intended by their makers. Probate was undertaken for various reasons including disputes, intestacy, debt or bankruptcy. Inventories with low monetary value could be the result of the incomplete recording of a person's assets, intestacy or disputed administration. Probate inventories were intended to aid 'the transmission of property at death'.[97] However, Riello states other inventories exist that record goods from 'bankruptcy, loss from fire, admittance to a hospital or orphanage, or a sale of a property', these were commonly lists of household or stock goods.[98] The taking of inventories is perceived to date from the 1529 Act, although there is some evidence to suggest they pre-date this. Cox and

[96] The referencing of the Ludlow and Hereford probate documents is 'an inexact science as they have been subject to different cataloguing and copying processes over many years… [It would be] more straight forward to use the generic reference of AA20 and the name of the testator and date of the document. This would have the advantage of being precise'. Stated by Rhys Griffith, Senior Archivist for Hereford Record Office, Email, [19 March 2013]

[97] Jeff and Nancy Cox 'Probate 1500-1800 a System in Transition' in *When Death do us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*, ed. by Tom Arkell and others (Oxford: Leopards Head Press, 2000), pp. 14-37, (p. 19).

[98] Giorgio, 'Cataloguing the Domestic' in *Imagined Interiors*, ed. by Aynsley and Grant, p. 98.

Cox point out that there is no evidence to support the widely held belief that inventories were only made for those that had moveable goods valued at £5 or more.[99]

The taking of inventories peaked in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and steadily declined in most places by the mid-eighteenth century, though this varied from place to place. Ludlow's inventories became scarce after the 1740s and the later ones lack detail, whereas in Hereford, the number declined after the 1720s and in Tewkesbury, they had already declined by that decade. However, there were still sufficient numbers for the sample until the end of the examined period, although this does mean that this thesis is not directly comparable with many of the inventory studies that finish their sample at 1725 or 1730.[100]

This three-town study employs a small sample of inventories, but the intention was to be able to use wills in conjunction with them. This additional information written by the former owner informs us as to what individuals held dear. Inventory evidence of goods does not state whether an item was a family piece or if it was personalised. Inventories, however, do provide piecemeal evidence of many aspects of seventeenth and eighteenth- century life, for example, information about the operation of multitudes of trades and employments is sometimes revealed. They can also illustrate 'the expansion of the retail trade in the seventeenth century'; be used to analyse farming practices; reveal debts owed to the deceased and provide indications of room size and use.[101] One of the main strengths of inventories is that they allow changes in the possessions of ordinary people over time to be documented.[102] Nevertheless, accuracy is not always guaranteed as objects can be overlooked or several items recorded as one entry. Although it appears that inventories provide a description of middling rank interiors room by room they are problematic, as there are many omissions and sometimes inaccuracies. However, they remain an important source for analysing the early modern domestic interior and its material culture.

To maximise what can be learnt this study will use both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis. H. R. French has pointed to Pennell identifying the different conclusions reached

[99] Cox, 'Probate 1500-1800 a System in Transition' in *When Death do us Part*, ed. by Arkell and others, p. 26.
[100] Overton and others, *Production*; Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic*; Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer;* Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*.
[101] Tom Arkell, 'Interpreting Probate Inventories' in *When Death do us Part*, ed. by Arkell and others, pp. 72-102, (pp. 80-92).
[102] Cox, 'Probate 1500-1800, a System in Transition' in *When Death do us Part*, ed. by Arkell and others, p. 34.

by quantitative and qualitative research.[103] The quantitative method is widely adopted by Weatherill, Shammas, Earle and Overton et al, although each sampling method differs.[104] Weatherill, in her comprehensive study, argues that her sampling method needed a selection of similarly detailed inventories. She uses documents that describe the goods in each room and her method involved selecting every tenth inventory. If the tenth inventory seemed incomplete or did not list the contents of individual rooms it was ignored, and the next inventory replaced it.[105] Overton et al have a complex sampling system, which uses all inventories. Incomplete or uninformative inventories were used for other purposes. These documents were given a letter code and used for the analysis of wealth, prices or production.[106] However, Ursula Priestley and P. J. Corfield maintain that inventories are a 'notoriously erratic source on which to base quantitative analyses.[107] The most common method of analysing large numbers of inventories employs quantitative methodology, which recent years has increasingly involved computer analysis. Weatherill claims that if she were to embark on her study again, she would use 'a computer package that incorporated multi-variable techniques to assess the probabilities that each variable influenced ownership'.[108]

Later, historians such as Mark Overton et al used portable software packages, which enabled 'inventories to be virtually copy-typed from record offices'. The quantitative method is useful for attempting to say something about the nature of ownership using a large number of inventories, but the historian has to be careful of creating an inaccurate impression when analysing inventories for key consumer goods. Margaret Ponsonby highlights the example of Ann Chandler, a widow. Despite living in reduced circumstances, her many small luxuries would make her household appear well represented in a quantitative study.[109]

The qualitative method allows an in-depth examination of a small number of inventories, or even a single one, permitting the exploration of possible social and cultural meanings.[110] This method not only helps to illustrate the material culture of people's homes in detail, but also

[103] Pennell 'Consumption and Consumerism', 551-2 in French, *The Middling Sort*, p. 141.
[104] Overton and others *Production*; Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class;* Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour;* Shammas, 'The Domestic Environment', 3-24.
[105] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 202.
[106] Overton and others, *Production*, p. 18.
[107] Ursula Priestley and P. J. Corfield, 'Rooms and Room Use in Norwich Housing, 1580-1730', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 16 (1982), 93-123, (p. 94).
[108] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. xvii.
[109] Margaret Ponsonby, 'Ideals, Reality and Meaning: Homemaking in England in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Design History*, 16, 3 (2003), 201-214, (p. 204).
[110] Styles, 'Product Innovation in Early Modern England', 124-69.

allows individual's backgrounds to be examined. The term qualitative research is not being used in a sociological way to describe a small sample examined in detail involving numerical data collection, but in a broader context to portray a methodology that permits a thorough examination of a small number of documents. In addition, as has been mentioned earlier, qualitative analysis allows for the combining of different types of documents in order to give a context for ownership and consumption practices. The comparatively small numbers of inventories used here will allow an in-depth examination of the types of new goods owned, and additionally provide an opportunity to examine households that appear to have retained traditional goods, despite the increased availability of fashionable items.

Inventories are useful as historic sources, but they do have drawbacks; they only reveal the bare facts of ownership and consequently do not explain how and why goods were acquired. Weatherill argues inventories reveal only a partial view of the accumulated goods of an individual, for example, they list debts owed, but omit real estate.[111] Similarly, Shammas claims they are a poor source for discovering growth in many semi-durable new goods and 'cannot measure the rate of turnover in goods over a lifetime'.[112] Another drawback of inventories is that they are 'snapshots of reality' and only tell us about that moment in time, saying little about family stories or lifecycles.[113]

This brings us to the question of how representative these documents are for the middling ranks. Inventory studies illustrate that probate documents survive in varying numbers at different time intervals, for example, few inventories survive for the 1672/3 Tewkesbury sample. Eleanor John used small numbers of inventories for her London study; this resulted in an inventory sample of four to demonstrate middling rank behaviour in the last 30 years of the sixteenth century. She argues these were 'remarkably consistent'.[114]

Inventories can give a distorted picture of the possessions of women due to a number of factors. They were rarely made for married women, except in unusual circumstances, and married women usually only made wills when they had reached a special agreement or had significant amounts of property or money. Shammas points to married women whose goods,

[111] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 106.
[112] Shammas, 'The Domestic Environment', p. 95.
[113] Riello in 'Cataloguing the Domestic' in *Imagined Interiors*, ed.by Aynsley and Grant, p. 98.
[114] Eleanor John, 'At Home with the London Middling Sort: The Inventory Evidence for Furnishings and Room Use, 1570-1720,' *Regional Furniture*, 22 (2008), 27-51, (p. 29).

and any subsequent objects they purchased, were often later recorded in the wills of their husbands.[115] The majority of probate documents belonging to females reflect the poorer sorts, such as spinsters and widows; these women were more likely to have limited resources and few or no trade goods, and many would have lived with family members or in lodgings rather than being the head of a household.

Wills have not been used to the same extent as inventories by historians due to their varying content. Amy Louise Erickson suggests they are affected by 'convention, affection, guilt, need and duty'.[116] However, the potential of these documents is being realised because, when used with inventories, they can provide vivid descriptions of goods. Wills also frequently contain details that allow us to assess the status of individuals, learn the location of their homes and the amount of property they owned. Cox and Cox point out 'Men increasingly chose to tie up their property through marriage settlements, entails and heirlooms, so curtailing the freedom of their descendants to leave property as they chose'.[117] Wills could also be the final punishment for wayward sons, disrespectful daughters and indifferent wives. Historians such as Berg, Pointon, Erickson and Judith Spicksley use wills to provide insights into female behaviour through their possessions.[118] This study uses wills to provide descriptions of household goods and background information of testators to allow individuals status to be determined.

Inventories, usually completed by third parties, are seen as impersonal, whereas wills, instructed if not written by testators, are considered personal.[119] Together they provide a rounder picture of a person's lifestyle and possessions. Many of the inventories and wills from Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury are from small retailers and artisans; these lesser tradesmen were the bulk of the population in most towns. Such individuals generally worked for a few decades then disappeared; they made no outstanding contribution and left no lasting

[115] Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer,* pp.180-1.
[116] Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England (*London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 32.
[117] Cox, 'Probate 1500-1800, A System in Transition' in *When Death do us Part,* ed. by Arkell and others, p. 24.
[118] Judith. M. Spicksley, 'Usuary Legislation, Cash, and Credit: the Development of the Female Investor in the Late Tudor and Stuart Periods', *Economic History Review*, 61, 2 (2008), 277-301; Spicksley, 'Fly with a Duck in Thy Mouth': Single Women as Sources of Credit in Seventeenth-Century England', *Social History*, 32, 2 (2007), 187-207; Marcia Pointon, *Strategies for Showing: Women, Possession, and Representation in English Visual Culture 1665-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 37-49; Berg, 'Women's Consumption', 415-434.
[119] Pointon, *Strategies for Showing*, p. 3.

legacy. Nevertheless, their surviving probate documents allow us to assess to some extent the consumption habits of the middling ranks in these towns.

Contents

This study concentrates on four main chapters. Chapter 1 examines how Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury developed and changed in the early modern period. These towns on the periphery of fashionable culture each had their distinguishing features that affected the sorts of people who settled in them. Chapter 2 investigates the ambiguity of status in probate documents with the intention of constructing a framework that allows the rank and status of individuals to be identified; this enables the link between consumption and status to be evaluated in the following chapters. This chapter also investigates how the term 'middling sorts' has been used to describe this emerging section of society. In order to determine the significance of place and status in relation to the levels of ownership within the home, Chapter 3 analyses the goods found in 'front-stage' rooms.[120] This chapter attempts to determine the degree to which metropolitan culture was embraced through provincial domestic habits and in the employment of new goods. Chapter 4 studies the 'back-stage' or utilitarian areas of the home: kitchens, bedrooms, storage areas and places of production are significant indicators of changing behaviour and status. Chapters 3 and 4 illustrate the complexity and ambiguity of the seventeenth and eighteenth century home.

[120] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 32.

Chapter One: Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury: Urban development and change, 1660-1760

This chapter investigates the extent to which Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury experienced urban development and change over the period examined. It shows that the status of Ludlow as a leisure town substantially increased its desirability as a place of residence, whereas during the eighteenth century both Hereford and Tewkesbury declined in significance. All three were typical of the many provincial towns of middling status in the urban hierarchy; they existed on the periphery of fashionable culture, contending with factors such as poor road networks, and competition from larger neighbours such as Shrewsbury and Gloucester. However, Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury each had important distinguishing features, including distinct geographical locations, which produced interesting regional differences. As the study will show, these attributes defined the characters of the towns, and to a large extent determined the type of people who settled in them.

Towns, with their dense populations, encouraged consumption. The proximity of shops and markets presented the majority of town dwellers with greater opportunity to purchase new goods than their rural counterparts. Weatherill, in her 1988 ground breaking work on middling rank consumption, suggests that towns played a vital role in the adoption of new modes of behaviour. She argues that 'urban life and culture focused on display', but insists that there was more to town life than luxury and leisure.[121] Towns could support greater numbers of retailers and manufacturers; competition between them increased the availability of manufactured and imported goods to the middling sorts as well as to the gentry.

This section will evaluate the attractions and advantages of living in the early modern towns of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury and assess how the towns changed during that period. Though peripheral in national terms they had some local importance as mid-ranking county towns during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. They are examined comparatively to establish whether consumption habits varied from place to place. Additionally, Ludlow and Hereford offer the cultural slant of being situated near the Welsh border. This study of a borderland region also allows for an examination of the extent to which eighteenth-century politeness and metropolitan culture took root far away from the

[121] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 81-4.

London metropolis, and later chapters will analyse this trend through the recorded possession of new, fashionable goods found in probate records.

The economic and social significance of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury

The towns of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury were of early origin. The layout of Ludlow was a product of twelfth- century town planning intended to provide cohesion to the buildings that were growing up around the royal castle.[122] Hereford was built on the ancient foundations of Roman and Anglo-Saxon settlements, whereas Tewkesbury developed in Anglo-Saxon times as an important crossing place of three ancient roads and the confluence of the rivers Severn and Avon.[123] The landscapes of the towns were still dominated by that legacy in the early modern period. Ludlow and Hereford retained fortified walls, castles and churches, and the cathedral in Hereford had substantial land and property holdings. Since Tewkesbury was not on the English-Welsh frontier it was not fortified, but it had natural barriers in the form of two rivers. The most significant structure in Tewkesbury was its abbey, a rare survivor of the dissolution of the monasteries, which was purchased by the town and became the parish church.[124] The important effect of these ancient structures and institutions on the towns was their impingement on the amount of land that was available for urban development.

Borsay has written extensively on the types and function of early modern provincial towns; he suggests there were many homogeneous features such as how they functioned and the services they provided. He also characterises provincial towns as being 'generally undistinguished and in some cases even shabby' in the mid-seventeenth century.[125] Both Ludlow and Tewkesbury benefited from the great rebuilding that altered the appearance of these towns between 1570 and 1640. However, Ludlow also experienced a second and more important rebuild from 1680 to 1780. Hereford did not achieve a major rebuild in this period although some professionals built new houses at the end of the seventeenth century. This indicates that either Hereford did not experience an influx of new wealth in a similar way to the other towns, or that there was less social pressure to follow new fashions in architecture.

[122] David Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow* (Ludlow: Merlin Unwin, 1999), p. 21.
[123] John Price, *An Historical Account of the City of Hereford* (Hereford: Walker, 1796), pp. 14-5; Anthea Jones, *Tewkesbury* (Guildford: Philimore, 1987), p. 5.
[124] Jones, *Tewkesbury*, p. 53.
[125] P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 41.

However, in Ludlow and Tewkesbury, many of the fashionable classical facades were no more than the re-fronting of old half-timbered buildings.[126]

The three towns all fitted into Borsay's category of larger commercial towns with roads, rivers or markets drawing business into them.[127] These towns were similar in size and status in 1700 to Stratford-Upon -Avon, Preston, Chesterfield, Aylesbury and Maidstone.[128] Lloyd uses the mid to late eighteenth-century carriage duty, silver-plate duty and duty on male servants to place Ludlow and Hereford in a hierarchy of Welsh borderland towns. Ludlow and Hereford can be viewed as middling; they were more important than the towns of Bridgnorth, Leominster and Droitwich, but could not compete with the county capitals of Shrewsbury and Worcester.[129] Table 1.1 indicates the growth in population in the three towns; although dates are not directly comparable the proportionate expansion of Ludlow is nevertheless clear.

Table 1.1 Early modern populations of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury

Date	Ludlow	Date	Hereford	Date	Tewkesbury
1676	2000	1757	5592[130]	1723	2866
1831	5253[131]	1801	6828[132]	1791	3768[133]

The area of the Welsh borderlands known as the Marches has been described as 'a political and cultural boundary area for the last 2000 years at least', and was viewed by early modern visitors as provincial and unsophisticated when compared with more densely inhabited areas.[134] The proximity of the border resulted in considerable Welsh settlement in Ludlow and Hereford, seen in the existence of Welsh surnames. Some evidence of long-established Welsh traditions can also be seen in some of the carvings in Ludlow parish church and on

[126] Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p. 47.
[127] Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance* p. 5.
[128] Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance* p. 6.
[129] Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow*, Fig 15, p. 111.
[130] C. W. Chalklin, *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England, London* (London: Arnold, 1974), p. 30.
[131] Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow*, p. 103.
[132] R. G. Thorne, *The House of Commons*, 1790-1820 (London: Secker and Warburg, 1986), p. 197.
[133] Jones, *Tewkesbury*, p. 104.
[134] Trevor Rowley, *The Welsh Border, Archaeology, History and Landscape* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), p. 12.

half-timbered properties in the town.[135] The Welsh influence further convinced eighteenth-century contemporary writers of the backwardness of this area because they saw the Welsh as unsophisticated and impolite.[136] This bias developed as the Welsh were perceived as having little experience of urbanization, and a reputation for consuming unrefined foods.[137] This is an example of how English codes of politeness could be used as a means to demonstrate a perceived cultural superiority. However, in a material culture study, evidence of Welsh living practices and furniture can be difficult to obtain from probate sources due to lack of detail.

Trade and employment

Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury possessed 'the bedrock of every urban economy': numerous small retailers and manufacturers that supplied residents and the villages in the immediate area with vital goods and services.[138] Wright uses the surviving 'Easter Books', annual records of church tithes, to demonstrate the occupational structure of Ludlow. She asserts the town had 'little industry of note' apart from glove making which helped fill a void caused by the declining cloth industry. The trade could be worked by women and children within the home, but was regulated by The Stitch Men's guild that, unusually, formally trained many of the female glovers'.[139] Fortunes were made by the master glovers though out-workers barely made enough to survive. Worcester was the centre for glove making and many nearby towns embraced this trade.[140] By the third decade of the eighteenth century the town was providing increasing opportunities for those that worked in retailing, manufacturing and services, mainly stimulated by the needs of the visiting wealthy and gentry who came to Ludlow for its season. Traders became more prosperous, and smaller trades benefited in turn from supplying their needs. Itinerant workers lodging in town temporarily increased the population.[141]

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[135] Richard Bebb, *Welsh Furniture 1250-1950, A Cultural History of Craftsmanship and Design*, 2 vols (Kidwelly: Saer Books, 2007), I, p. 17.
[136] Nathaniel Spencer quoted in R. H. Sweet, 'Topographies of Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 12 (2002), 355-374, (p. 360).
[137] Lloyd Bowen, 'Representations of Wales and the Welsh during the Civil Wars and Interregnum', *Historical Research* 77.197 (2004), 358-376, (p. 360).
[138] Joyce M. Ellis, *The Georgian Town* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), p. 52.
[139] S. J. Wright, 'Holding up Half the Sky: Women and their Occupations in Eighteenth-Century Ludlow', *Midland History*, 14 (1989), 53-74, (pp. 53-66).
[140] Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow*, p. 115.
[141] S. J. Wright, 'Sojourners and Lodgers in a Provincial Town: the Evidence from Eighteenth-Century Ludlow', *Urban History*, 17 (1990), 14-35, (pp.14-5).

Hereford also adopted the trade of glove making. T. Cox wrote in 1700 that, 'gloves were the most important manufacture but this was too poor a trade to make a place to flourish'.[142] Roberts states that 'the distance from the city of the sources of mineral wealth and from the growing ports and industrial areas left it to stagnate'.[143] However, there were a number of industries such as 'cloth, boat building, tanning and milling', and many Welsh ports and county towns were dependent on Hereford for trade. [144]

As a typical small market town, Tewkesbury had many minor businesses and a few larger merchants. The woollen industry, a staple trade of the underprivileged, had gradually declined, and those left unemployed were encouraged to knit woollen and cotton articles of clothing. [145] Clark claims that the prosperous hosiery industry in Tewkesbury dated from the Stuart period.[146] However, framework knitting later changed the nature of habitation in the town; the previous system of working in the master's house ended, and employees knitted in their own homes.[147] This hosiery trade was also in decline by the 1790s because it was 'stranded technically' by its distance from the main manufacturing area of the Midlands.[148] Elrington suggests that the town was not entirely dependent on stocking manufacturing and hosiery as there were 'other major industries' that together provided affluence such as malting, leather production and the corn trade. Tewkesbury was also known for market gardening, and tobacco growing thrived until this was banned by the government in the late seventeenth century.[149] Joan Thirsk claims the region around Tewkesbury 'displayed resourcefulness and a zest for making the most of varied and seemingly trivial sources of income'.[150]

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[142] Graham Roberts, *The Shaping of Modern Hereford* (Logaston: Logaston Press, 2002), p. 8.
[143] Graham Roberts, *City of Hereford, Official Guide* (Hereford: Hereford City Council, 1973), p. 9.
[144] J. F. Morris, 'The Political Organisation of Hereford, 1693-1736', *Transactions of the Woolhope Club*, 45, 3 (1987), 477-487, (477); Christopher Chalklin, *The Rise of the English Town*, 1650-1850 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 4.
[145] Jones, *Tewkesbury*, pp. 81-2; *A History of the County of Gloucester, Victoria County History*, ed. by C. R. Elrington, 12 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1907-2010), VIII (1968), p. 111.
[146] Peter Clark, 'Small Towns 1700-1840', *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, 1540-1840*, ed. by Peter Clark, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), II, pp. 733-774, (p. 750).
[147] *Victoria County History*, ed. by Elrington, p. 120.
[148] Clark, 'Small Towns 1700-1840' in *Cambridge Urban History*, ed. by Clark, p. 759
[149] *Victoria County History*, ed. by Elrington, pp. 111, 139.
[150]Joan Thirsk, 'The South-West Midlands, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, and Herefordshire', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, ed. by Joan Thirsk, 8 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967-2011), V (1984), pp. 170-1.

Topographical influences on the three towns

Ludlow

The town of Ludlow lies in south Shropshire, a few miles east of the Welsh border. It had been nationally important as a political and military centre in the medieval period as the seat of the powerful Council of the Marches, which was based at Ludlow Castle. The Council attracted many members of the English gentry and Welsh aristocracy, so bringing trade and employment to the town. By 1689 the widespread unpopularity of the Council, and the cost of its maintenance, caused it to be dissolved. Lloyd maintains that 'many of the illustrious Ludlow families were there because of pre-Civil War links with the Council'.[151] The governmental role gave the small town a cosmopolitan feel with its numerous large town houses. Borsay classified Ludlow alongside county towns claiming it was of 'second tier status': it was above market towns and was 'able to exert a major impact on an extensive hinterland'.[152] During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Ludlow was not prosperous. In 1722, Daniel Defoe, the journalist, pamphleteer and novelist described the town as 'a tolerable place, but it decays to be sure with the rest'.[153] However, Ludlow increasingly became desirable as a residence and a place to visit when it grew as a leisure town. Although debate continues about the point at which it obtained this status, Ludlow can be presumed to have fulfilled this role by the 1730s, when the gentry and wealthy were drawn to the town and began to erect or rent large houses in the main streets. Tourists were also attracted to the scenery and to the royal castle.[154]

Ludlow achieved its leisure town status by providing for the social and cultural interests of its visitors with, for example, a number of 'good shops' such as booksellers.[155] Both Lloyd and Berg quote an anonymous visitor of 1744 who claimed that 'here the gentry dress, live easily, visit much and do things very grand'.[156] The probate sample illustrates that there were apothecaries, attorneys, mercers, booksellers, a tobacconist and a peruke [wig] maker.[157]

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[151] Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow*, pp. 10, 66, 103-4.
[152] Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p.5.
[153] *Ludlow, A Historic Town in Words and Pictures,* ed. by David Lloyd and Peter Klein (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984), p. 61.
[154] Richard Morriss and Ken Hovard, *The Buildings of Ludlow* (Stroud: Sutton, 1993), p.12.
[155] *Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland,'* ed. by Borsay and Lindsay Proudfoot (Oxford: Oxford, University Press, 2002), p. 61.
[156] Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 260; Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow*, p. 110.
[157] See Appendix 1. The Probate Sample from Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury, 1662-1753.

Specialized shops were a mark of gentility in a medium sized town because smaller settlements could only support general stores.[158] There was also a selection of high status inns and lower class alehouses to cater for the tastes of the refined or the commonality.

Wright argues that the tradition of the gentry visiting Ludlow led to the creation of a fashionable season in the town; this produced unusually high number of lodgers for a country town, and Wright concludes that one in seven households had lodgers in the 1720s.[159] Although some will have been gentry visitors renting rooms for the duration of their leisure stay or temporary workers there for the season, taking lodgings was frequently a response to poverty, ill health or retirement. There were also sojourners who stayed in the town for several years moving from household to household; these people occasionally set up their own homes or married into families.[160]

Hereford

The city of Hereford, as the county capital of Herefordshire, owed its origins to its strategic military position on the north bank of the River Wye. Hereford stagnated economically once its significance as 'an essential frontier town' ended in 1485. The city's position was further undermined by the 'loss of its pilgrim trade, its corn and fulling mills, its busy royal castle and the trade associated with it'.[161] By the early modern period Hereford had become increasingly isolated and unimportant, not only because of its remoteness, but also because of its deficiency in the raw materials that spurred the industrial revolution in the Midlands. It also lacked the large urban markets enjoyed by other counties like Gloucestershire. The city was described in 1700 as being 'mean and old and thinly inhabited, there not being any staple trade to enrich it, or invite people to go and settle in it'.[162] Daniel Defoe concurred in 1724, referring to Hereford as 'truly an old, mean built and very dirty city'. However, he also saw it as 'large and populous', but as eighteenth-century Hereford was barely half a mile across this suggests that the town was probably overcrowded. Dyer insists that Hereford declined in the sixteenth century and was unable to achieve 'the local domination reached by other county

[158] Helen Berry, 'Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), 375-394, (p. 378).
[159] Wright, 'Sojourners and Lodgers', (p.17.)
[160] A sojourner was a temporary resident- Oxford English Dictionary <www.oed.com/view/Entry/184009?redirectedFrom=sojourners#eid> Accessed [9 April 2013]; Sojourners were in trades like 'wigmakers, dressmakers, writing masters and musicians'. Wright, 'Sojourners and Lodgers', pp. 19, 23.
[161] Roberts, *The Shaping of Modern Hereford*, p. 4.
[162] Roberts, *The Shaping of Modern Hereford*, p. 8.

towns'. There were a number of factors that should have improved the situation for Hereford, but did not. He lists, for example, 'the fertility of the nearby countryside, the glove industry, the development of turnpike roads and the opening up of the Wye to navigation after 1695'. Hereford remained 'a natural backwater;' the area faced competition from the neighbouring towns of Worcester, as a commercial rival, and Ludlow, as a gentry centre. The backwardness of Shropshire and Herefordshire was illustrated in 1671 when it was believed that these were the only two counties where window glass was unavailable.[163]

However, Hereford fulfilled an important role for its regional community by maintaining its power as an episcopal and legal centre. The Cathedral, the consistory court and the important assizes, all drew members of the gentry and others to transact legal business, to undertake public roles and to socialise.[164] Borsay substantiates this; he shows that Hereford acted as 'an administrative capital and supported a rich diet of fashionable culture'.[165] Joyce Ellis further argues that the town was an urban centre at the bottom tier of eight substantial communities of between 2,500 and 5,000 inhabitants, and as such provided specialized commercial and administrative services to smaller, nearby towns.[166] Hereford was not as isolated as some believed since members of the landed county families travelled frequently to London. Probate evidence also shows that Hereford could sustain specialized quality shops, for example, a bookseller, mercers, apothecaries, and a tobacconist. [167] Not every visitor criticised Hereford; Celia Fiennes was quite charmed by what she saw in 1696, describing the city as 'a pretty little town of timber buildings, where the streets are well pitched and handsome as to breadth and length'.[168] John Price, writing in 1796, although 'perhaps slightly prejudiced in his native city's favour', reckoned that there were nine good streets which were broad and well paved.[169]

[163] Dyer, 'Midlands', in *Cambridge Urban History,* ed. by Clark, pp. 105-6.
[164] Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p. 143.
[165] Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p. 10.
[166] Ellis, *The Georgian Town*, pp. 15-6.
[167] E. L. Jones, 'Agricultural Conditions and Changes in Herefordshire, 1660-1815', *Transactions of the Woolhope Society,* 18 (1961), 32-55, (p. 42); Appendix 1. Bibliographical information on the testators from the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury, 1662-1753.
[168] Roberts, *The Shaping of Modern Hereford*, p. 8.
[169] Jim and Muriel Tonkin, *The Book of Hereford* (Chesham: Barracuda, 1975), p. 11.

Tewkesbury

Tewkesbury was a large market town of about 2,700 people. The town had its share of quality shops with mercers, a goldsmith, a tobacconist and a periwig maker.[170] Nancy Cox argues that as an established commercial centre, Tewkesbury was one of only 'four market towns in Gloucestershire that had a substantial retail base before 1660'.[171] The town had been important in the seventeenth century because it was second in the county in size and wealth to Gloucester. Nevertheless, the town could not compete with Bristol and Gloucester for, as Peter Ripley states, these large urban centres had more variations in trades, showed a more developed outlook and were significantly wealthier.[172] The most affluent and desirable areas of Tewkesbury were the High Street, Church Street and Barton Street, though Barton Street was more liable to flood. However, the majority of Tewkesbury's inhabitants lived in overcrowded alleys. These were in side streets, formerly accesses to stores, workshops and gardens which had developed into unsanitary, overcrowded courts and passages, where plague was a frequent hazard.[173]

The navigability of the Severn gave the town economic independence from Bristol, enabling it to develop significantly into a manufacturing centre and a port by the end of the sixteenth century. [174] Unfortunately, the very thing that brought the town prosperity also brought about its demise. C. R. Elrington suggests the rivers of the Severn and the Avon limited the ability of Tewkesbury to expand, and frequent flooding was a regular hazard for inhabitants.[175] The floods damaged roads and washed gravestones away, but also caused a rise in the cost of goods, such as coal, wheat and grass, and brought illness and death.[176]

It is possible, as soldiers' wills survive in Gloucestershire, that the local militia were connected to the town during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[177] One of the principal town inns had a 'soldier's room' in 1733, and one local will reflects the fear of a

[170] Appendix 1. The probate sample from Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury, 1662-1753.
[171] Nancy Cox, *The Complete Tradesman- A Study of Retailing, 1550-1820* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 56.
[172] A. R. Warmington, *Civil War, Interregnum and Restoration in Gloucestershire, 1640-1672* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1997), p. 15; Peter Ripley, 'Village and Town: Occupations and Wealth in the Hinterland of Gloucester, 1660-1700', *The Agricultural History Review*, 32 (1984), 170-178, (173-8).
[173] Jones, *Tewkesbury*, p. 81; *Victoria County History*, ed. by Elrington, p. 119.
[174] Jones, *Tewkesbury*, p. 63; *Victoria County History*, ed. by Elrington, p. 137.
[175] *Victoria County History*, ed. by Elrington, p. 114.
[176] W. Dyde, *The History and Antiquities of Tewkesbury* (Tewkesbury: Dyde, 1790), pp. 94-7.
[177] London, The National Archives, (Ever after (TNA)), Will, PROB 11/418/279, pp. 1-3,William Lord, 1694; London, (TNA), Will, PROB 11/721/138, pp. 1-3, Richard Dent, 1742; (TNA), Will, PROB 11/220/114, pp. 1-2, John Bicke, 1652.

father that his daughter might marry a soldier.[178] At least two captains lived in or near Tewkesbury, and while the presence of officers in the town was desirable, soldiers combined with bargemen may have represented some of the more unruly elements of Tewkesbury society.[179] These poorer sorts lived transitory lives and generally would only have owned basic goods.

However, the town was portrayed in a favourable light by many of its visitors; Defoe described the town as 'a quiet trading drunken town, a Whig bailey and all well'.[180] In 1746 Tewkesbury was recorded as being 'a very handsome [town], consisting of one very long and open well-paved street'. It was also described in 1774 as being 'a large, beautiful and populous town, of which the chief manufacture is woollen cloth and stockings'.[181]

Communications and transport

Local historians have previously argued that road travel to and from country towns in the early modern period was difficult; in winter roads were believed to have been 'impassable to wagons and carts', and some contemporary travellers reinforced this view.[182] Dyer suggests that a crucially debilitating factor in the stagnation of Hereford was its local roads, which remained of low quality, creating a 'shortage of carrier and coach services'.[183] Dorian Gerhold refutes this opinion. He illustrates that road transport could be fast and reliable to the extent that timetabled carriers were operating from the seventeenth century. Gerhold believes road transportation had advantages over water, unaffected as it was by wind and water shortages, making carriers a more viable option for low weight, high value or perishable goods.[184] Despite this the distance from London, combined with fewer long-haul carriers, may have affected the fortunes of towns like Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury.

Tewkesbury's role as a port has been previously mentioned, but the nature of the trade and the types of goods that were carried requires further analysis. David Hussey points to the

[178]Gloucester, Gloucester Record Office, (Ever after (GRO)), Inventory, 1733/105, p. 1, Thomas Cotton, 1733; (GRO), Will, 1733/53, William Laight, 1733.
[179] Richard Dowdeswell, an M. P. from Pull Court near Tewkesbury was a captain in the Worcestershire militia. <http://www.worcestershireregiment.com/wr.php?main=inc/bat_worcs_militia> Accessed [13 February 2013]; (GRO), 1733/105, Thomas Cotton, 1733.
[180] *Victoria County History,* ed. by Elrington, p. 111.
[181] *Victoria County History,* ed. by Elrington, p. 111.
[182] John and Margaret West, *A History of Herefordshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1985), p. 100.
[183] Dyer, 'Midlands', in *Cambridge Urban History,* ed. by Clark, p. 106.
[184] Dorian Gerhold, *Road Transport before the Railways, Russell's London Flying Waggons* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 1-2.

river trade being dependent on the tidal zone, and that the river above Tewkesbury could only be used by flat-bottomed trows.[185] He claims that many Tewkesbury masters undertook the 'speculative and hazardous coastal voyages' to Devon and South Wales by the late seventeenth century.[186] The fact that Tewkesbury masters were prepared to travel long distances to earn a living illustrates that there may have been fierce competition from the neighbouring boat masters of Gloucester and Bristol. Wanklyn maintains that cargo from the town was 'more varied than those of any other port', but this is a reflection of the agricultural, rather than industrial, hinterland.[187]

The growth of polite housing in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury

Many of the changes which have occurred in the appearance of towns can be seen in public records such as the Hearth Tax (1662-1689), which was levied on each hearth, fire or stove in a property. Such records can provide valuable insights into the development of polite housing in provincial towns, and the potential for changes in consumption in the period.[188] Hearth Tax records survive for the three towns, and will be used here to assess the social composition of streets or wards. The willingness to pay two shillings per hearth per year suggests, as Faraday argues, that 'expenditure on hearths represented fashions in standards of comfort and display' as well as indicating the wealthier householders. However, the Hearth Tax as a historic source is not without its critics. Arkell states that the Hearth Tax is 'frustratingly complicated' due to inconsistencies and inaccuracies in the way the tax was made, for example, exemptions were not always due to poverty.[189] Chris Husbands declares the source a questionable indicator of personal wealth, suggesting that there may have been non-existent differences in wealth between those with two hearths and those with three or four. Husbands argues that there are other factors illustrating wealth that the Hearth Tax cannot reveal, such as architectural style.[190] Taking into account these methodological problems the source will be analysed to determine what it can reveal about occupational structure in seventeenth-century Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury.

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[185] David Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade in Pre-Industrial England. Bristol and its Region, 1680-1730* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 2000), p. 4.
[186] Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade,* p.135.
[187] Malcolm Wanklyn, 'River Trade on the Severn 1565-1765', *Tewkesbury Historical Society*, 4 (1995), 3-9, (8).
[188] (TNA), Hearth Tax, E179, 1662-89. <www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/research-guides/taxation - before-1689.htm> Accessed [12 April 2013]
[189] Tom Arkell, 'Printed instructions for Administering the Hearth Tax', in *Surveying the People*, ed. by Kevin Schurer and Tom Arkell (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 1992), pp. 38-64, (p. 38).
[190] Chris Husbands, 'Hearths, Wealth and Occupations', in *Surveying the People*, ed. by Schurer and Arkell, pp. 65-77, (pp. 65-69).

Table 1.2 The ratio of hearths to tax-paying residents in the wards of late seventeenth-century Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury

Ludlow	**No. of tax payers in ward**	**Total no. hearths in ward**	**Ratio**
Castle Street Ward	102	406	3.98
Broad Street Ward	70	291	4.15
Corve Street Ward	58	170	2.93
Galdeford Ward	109	355	3.25
Hereford			
Bister's Ward	116	319	2.75
Wye Bridge Ward	82	208	2.53
Eigne Ward	73	214	2.93
St. Owen's Ward	61	248	4.06
Widemarsh Ward	42	113	2.69
Tewkesbury			
High Street	117	272	2.32
Barton Street	58	156	2.68
Church street	57	236	4.14

Table 1.2 illustrates that the most desirable areas of a town did not always have the highest ratio of hearths per tax payer. The High street areas: Castle ward in Ludlow, Bister's ward in Hereford and High Street in Tewkesbury had lower ratios than other districts, possibly reflecting a higher density of building. In Ludlow, Broad Street had the highest ratio of hearths to rate payers, suggesting larger and more comfortable houses. In Hereford many of the largest houses were situated around the cathedral precinct in St. Owen's ward, and similarly in Tewkesbury, Church Street near the abbey had the highest ratio of hearths to tax payers.

The wards with the lowest ratio of hearths to tax payer were Corve Street ward in Ludlow, Wye Bridge ward in Hereford and the High Street in Tewkesbury. Corve Street ward was the manufacturing centre of Ludlow and was occupied by tradesmen and artisans as well as less affluent members of the town. However, exemptions have not been recorded in Table 1.2 as they were not listed by ward; this means that there are a number of individuals that have been excluded from all wards in the three towns. Wye Bridge ward in Hereford had the lowest ratio of hearths to tax payers, and four of the wards there had ratios of only two or less hearths per tax payer. This suggests that at the time of the Hearth Tax assessment, in the late

seventeenth century, the bulk of the inhabitants of the city may have lived in small dwellings with few hearths

Table 1.3 The numbers and percentage of hearths per tax-paying property in the wards of late seventeenth-century Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury

Ludlow		**No.**	**%**
Castle Street Ward Total No. of Tax Payers 102	1-2 hearths	46	45.09
	3-5 hearths	33	32.35
	6 + hearths	23	22.54
Broad Street Ward Total No. of Tax Payers 70	1-2 hearths	22	31.42
	3-5 hearths	30	42.85
	6 + hearths	16	22.85
Corve Street Ward Total No. of Tax Payers 58	1-2 hearths	25	43.10
	3-5 hearths	30	51.72
	6 + hearths	3	5.17
Galdeford Ward Total No. of Tax Payers109	1-2 hearths	48	44.03
	3-5 hearths	44	40.36
	6 + hearths	17	15.59
Hereford		**No.**	**%**
Bister's Ward Total No. of Tax Payers116	1-2 hearths	72	62.06
	3-5 hearths	32	27.58
	6 + hearths	12	10.34
Wye Bridge Ward Total No. of Tax Payers 82	1-2 hearths	49	59.75
	3-5 hearths	27	32.92
	6 + hearths	6	7.31
Eigne Ward Total No. of Tax Payers 73	1-2 hearths	42	57.53
	3-5 hearths	21	28.76
	6 + hearths	10	13.69
St. Owen's Ward Total No. of Tax Payers 61	1-2 hearths	28	45.90
	3-5 hearths	22	36.06
	6 + hearths	11	18.03
Widemarsh Ward Total No. of Tax Payers 42	1-2 hearths	24	57.14
	3-5 hearths	11	26.19
	6 + hearths	7	16.66
Tewkesbury		**No.**	**%**
High Street Total No. of Tax Payers 117	1-2 hearths	62	52.99

	3-5 hearths	40	34.18
	6 + hearths	15	12.82
Barton Street Total No. of Tax Payers 58	1-2 hearths	30	51.72
	3-5 hearths	26	44.82
	6 + hearths	2	3.44
Church Street Total No. of Tax Payers 57	1-2 hearths	25	43.85
	3-5 hearths	25	43.85
	6 + hearths	7	12.28

Table 1.3 demonstrates that Hereford had the highest percentage of properties with one or two hearths. Three wards with the highest figures in this category were in the commercial area of the High Street, or in the less desirable parts of town. St. Owen's ward, the most exclusive area, had the least number in this low category. At around 45% this was similar to the percentage for that of Castle ward in Ludlow which, despite incorporating the wealthy Castle Square, had the highest percentage of properties with one or two hearths in Ludlow. However, this probably reflects the inclusion of the High Street with its artisan occupancy within the ward, and highlights the care needed when interpreting Hearth Tax records. Two of the main streets in Tewkesbury had a higher percentage of properties in this low category than did Ludlow, confirming that this town failed to attract the affluent in the way that Ludlow successfully did. Tewkesbury High Street, as the commercial centre, had the highest percentage of properties with one or two hearths, which probably reflects an artisan composition.

Properties in the three towns with between three and five hearths may have included a combination of workshops and living accommodation. Corve Street ward in Ludlow had the highest percentage of such buildings; they may have been the homes and businesses of the more successful tradesmen. The High Street areas of all three towns had the lowest percentage of dwellings with between three and five hearths in the Hearth Tax returns, perhaps again reflecting major occupancy by lesser tradesmen.

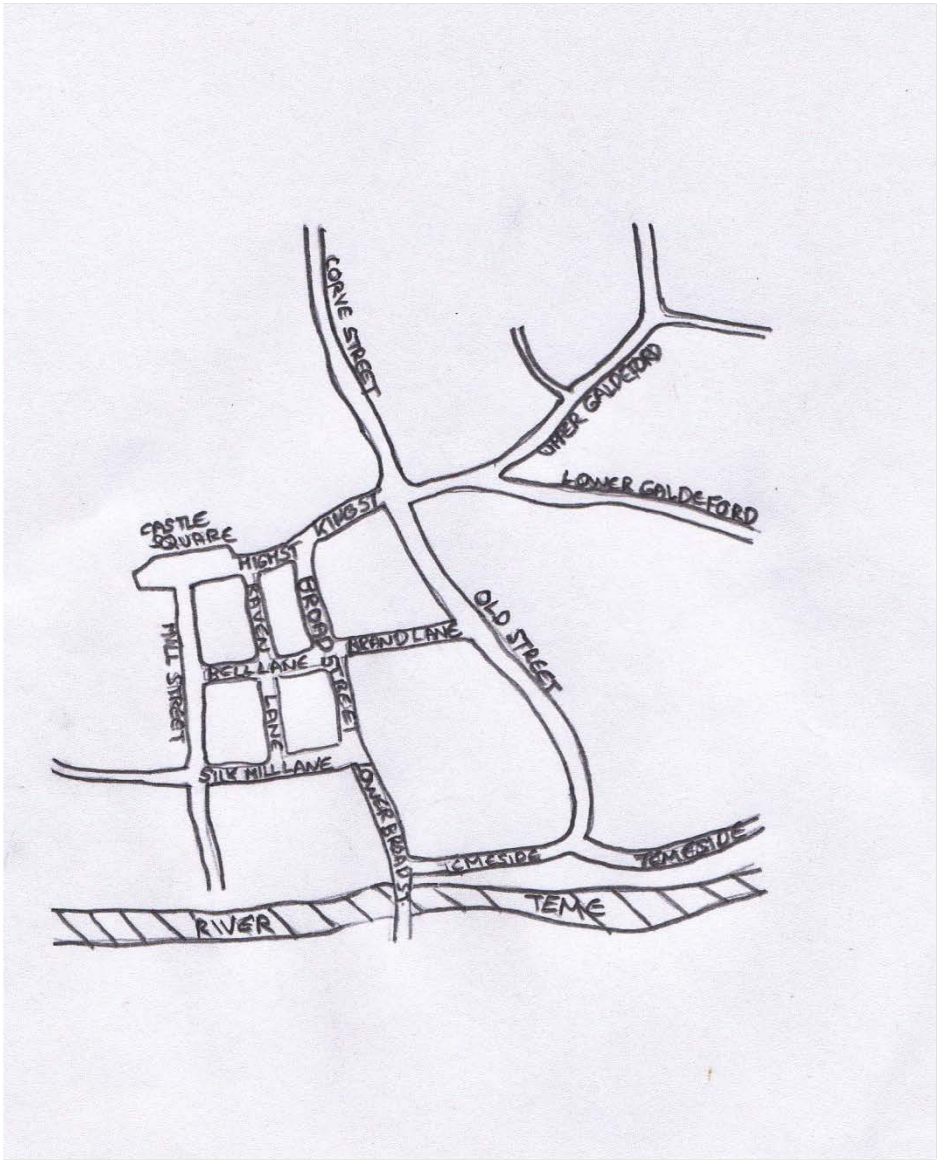
Numerous properties in the wards of the three towns had six or more hearths. Many of these had a non-domestic function as large inns or colleges, though in Hereford there were some large private properties belonging to professional men, such as doctors or those in public

life.[191] The building of many of the substantial mansions that survive today began at end of the seventeenth century. Ludlow had a higher overall percentage of properties with six or more hearths at 17.40%, compared to Hereford with 11.22% and Tewkesbury with 10.34%, although the Ludlow Corve Street ward also had a lower percentage of this group than either Hereford or Tewkesbury. Corve Street, as has been noted, contained the highest percentage of properties with between three and five hearths. Interestingly, this suggests that a social demarcation may have been emerging in Ludlow at this time. The established wealthy inhabited the Castle Street and Broad Street wards, whereas the increasingly prosperous tradesmen operated from, and possibly continued to live in, the Corve Street ward. These statistics have shown that the wards with large buildings were generally the areas occupied by the wealthier inhabitants of the towns. Hereford had the largest population; proportionally this suggests it contained greater numbers of the middling ranks. The taxable population of Ludlow was a mixture of the affluent and the less well-off, and Tewkesbury had many poorer dwellings with fewer wealthy individuals.

Illustration 1.1, a drawing of the streets of Ludlow, allows the important residential areas, as identified by the Hearth Tax and other sources, to be seen. The wards were based on the ancient streets.

[191]Hereford, Hereford Record Office (Ever after (HRO)), AM 29/1, Harnden, J, 1984, unpublished transcript, *Hearth Taxation Assessment for Michaelmas 1665 for Herefordshire*, pp. 54-7.

1. 1 A drawing of the centre of Ludlow illustrating the main streets, circa 2000



The area around Castle Square, with its elegant properties, was a particularly desirable residential quarter due to the proximity of the castle and its association with the former Council of the Marches. The 1672 Hearth Tax records show that the largest property, with eighteen hearths, was inhabited by Mrs Crumpe, a widow.[192] Other large houses in this ward were also in private hands and were occupied by members of the gentry and the higher middling ranks rather than being run commercially, for example, as inns. Typical of this was Castle Lodge, sub-let to Ralph Goodwyn Esquire until 1658. The lease, which had been held by the Berry family since the late sixteenth century, reverted to Robert Berry Esquire from 1660.[193]

The Hearth Tax records importantly indicate the composition of Broad Street before it was transformed into the most prestigious street in Ludlow during the late eighteenth century. Broad Street in 1672 had only eight large mansions, whereas Lower Broad Street was, as Girouard describes, 'a street of inns, artificers, and merchants, who made or warehoused their goods in or behind their houses'.[194] The later piecemeal demolition of these smaller houses and commercial properties led to the avenue becoming a street of mansions. This transition was captured in a 1760s painting of Broad Street by Samuel Scott, analysed by Girouard. He argues that Scott had represented a cross-section of Ludlow society with doctors, attorneys, clergymen, widows, local gentry, as well as retired military men, businessmen, tradesmen and manufacturers.[195] The Corve Street area similarly evolved. This traditional tanning and glove making district of Ludlow consisted of small and medium sized properties in the late seventeenth century, but by the 1720s wealthy glove magnates moved into the street and built large mansions.

This gradual transformation in house size and demographics is a clear indicator that Ludlow was becoming more attractive to people with the means to build, buy, or at least rent substantial properties, thus also providing opportunities for increased consumption. The

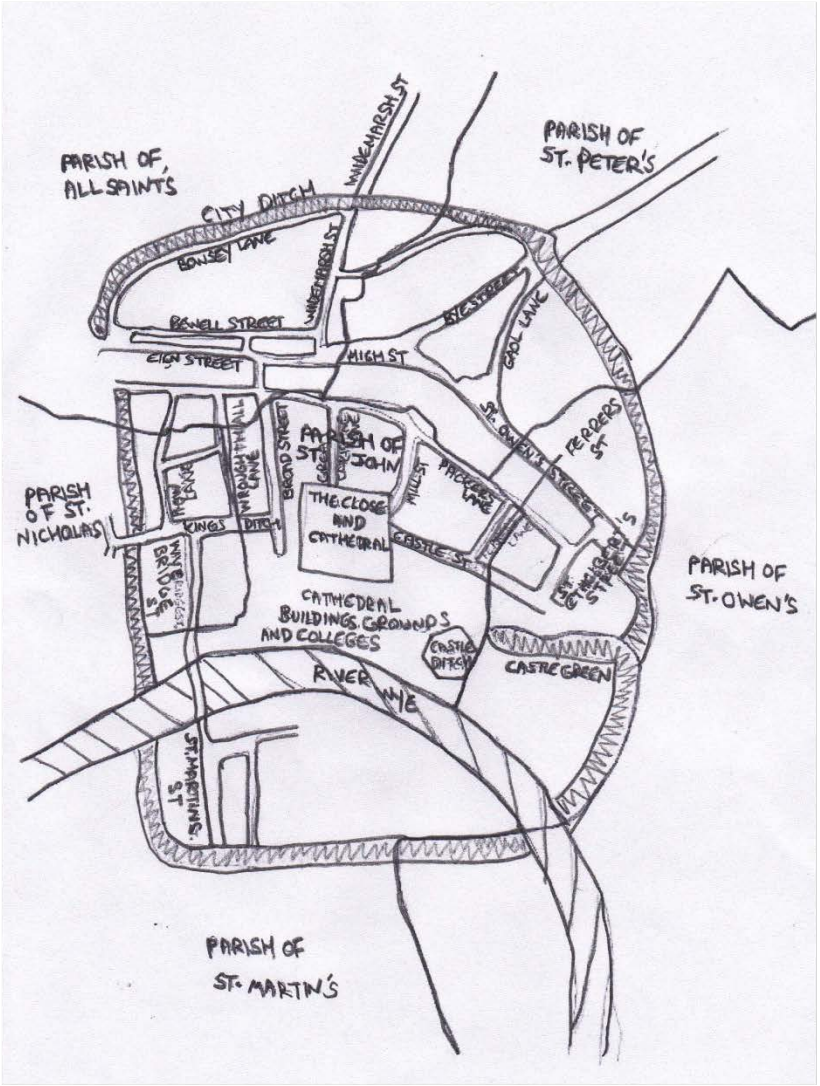
[192] Mrs Crumpe may have been the widow of Thomas Crumpe, a barrister of Gray's Inn, London. Alumi Oxonienses, 1500-1714, Institute of Historical Research. <www.rescript.org/article.aspx?p=1&a=3167> Accessed [3 January 2013]
[193] Castle Lodge, Castle Square, Ludlow. Ludlow Library & Museum Resource Centre <http://www.discovershropshire.org.uk/html/search/verb/GetRecord/theme:20080716115926> Accessed [13 July 2012]
[194] *The Shropshire Hearth-Tax Roll of 1672*, ed. by W. Watkins-Pitchford (Shropshire: Shropshire Archaeological and Parish Register Society, 1949), pp. 162-5; Mark Girouard, *The English Town* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 104-5.
[195] Girouard, *The English Town*, p. 104.

preference for living among people of similar professional or social standing to themselves also suggests that the urbanisation of Ludlow had begun.

Hereford had fewer substantial properties than Ludlow; many were in the vicinity of the cathedral around Castle Green and the college in St. Owen's Ward. The college of Vicar's Choral had the highest number of fireplaces with forty hearths.[196] This ward also had the most mansions, and three houses had ten hearths. Since doctors owned two of these residences, professionals may have been amongst the wealthiest people in Hereford. Widemarsh Street was also a sought-after location for the wealthy. A new house was built in this street in 1697 for another professional, Dr Brewster; he was later known for his bequest of ancient books to All Saints Church.[197] Illustration 1.2, a drawing of the centre of Hereford, circa 1800, shows the main streets, parish boundaries and city ditches.

[196] (HRO), AM 29/1, Harnden, *The Hearth Taxation Assessment*, pp. 54-7.
[197] Tonkin, *The Book of Hereford*, pp. 21, 37.

1.2 A drawing of the centre of Hereford, illustrating the main streets, parish boundaries and city ditches, circa 1800

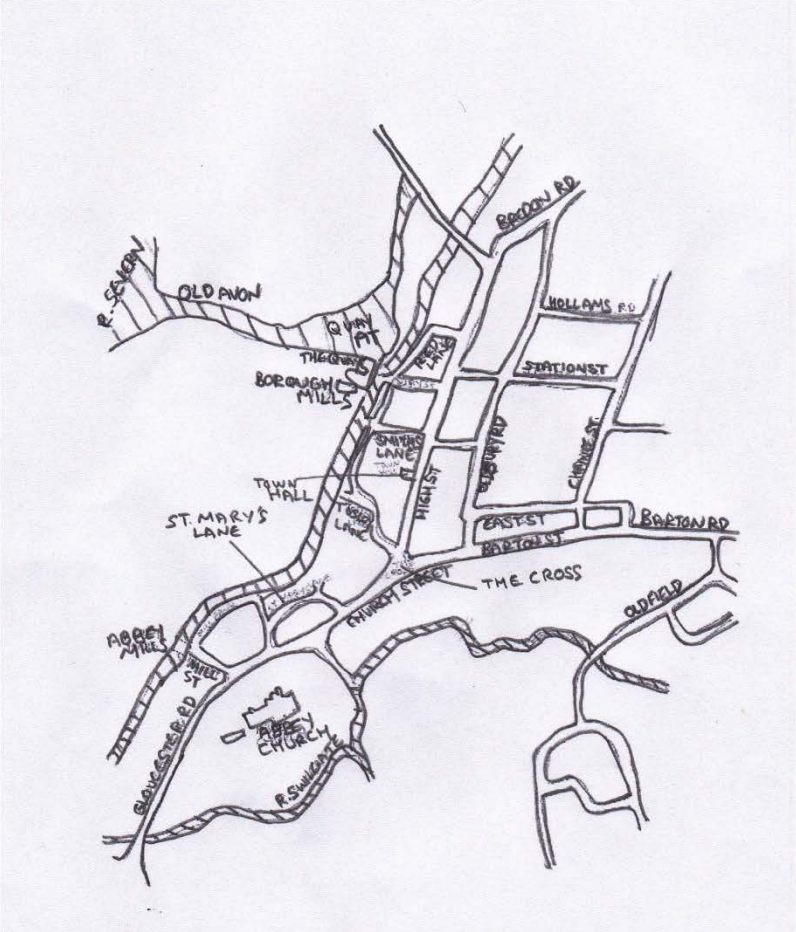


In the last quarter of the seventeenth century houses and inns in Hereford did not exceed ten hearths, for example, John Jones was an inn holder of two large inns. He owned *The Swan and Falcon* in Eigne Ward, and another property which was the largest building in the High Street. The largest private residence could not match that of Ludlow. However, the 1665 Hearth Tax records show three doctors, three clerks, twenty-three gentlemen and four esquires living in the city, demonstrating that Hereford attracted both professional and wealthy members of middling rank society, though they formed a smaller community than that of Ludlow.[198] The High Street yielded the highest tax returns for Hereford with its numerous businesses and inns, but it also contained private properties occupied by those of higher middling rank. Generally, the properties were not large, and the High Street area was not dissimilar from Castle Square in Ludlow with many of the lesser sort living near the wealthy. However, it was the density of habitation, rather than the number of wealthy tax paying individuals, that resulted in this ward paying the highest amount of tax.

Tewkesbury's 1671-72 Hearth Tax records illustrate that most properties in the three main streets had only one or two hearths though some houses may have had numerous rooms, but a small number of hearths. Although the High Street had some substantial properties these were likely to have been commercial premises such as inns, and as with Ludlow and Hereford the smaller premises were probably populated with lesser tradesmen. Illustration 1.3 depicts the main and most affluent streets in Tewkesbury.

[198] (HRO), AM 29/1. Harnden, *The Hearth Taxation Assessment*, pp. 54-7.

1.3 A drawing of the centre of Tewkesbury, illustrating the main streets, circa 1960s



This depiction of Tewkesbury as having a generally lower standard of living than that of Ludlow or Hereford is supported by the fact that there were also fewer residents defined by rank because only one 'Mr' and one army major were listed.[199] However, some men of substance did settle in Tewkesbury, for example, a 'doctor of physic' lived in the town in the 1740s.[200] Hearth Tax records for Ludlow and Hereford illustrate that the prosperous lived in close proximity to the poor, but this changed over the period as the poor were relocated away from the more desirable areas. This did not occur to the same extent in Tewkesbury; the main streets were rebuilt with large dwellings and commercial premises, but the poor remained in alleys close by.

What this analysis of the Hearth Tax records shows is that although progress was uneven and variable within and between each town, some areas of the three towns were developing the characteristics of polite housing. The next section looks at how leisure pursuits evolved.

The development of polite culture; cultural pursuits and popular entertainments

One of the important changes that influenced many aspects of urban life was the emergence of polite culture. It caused a major shift in attitude by the wealthy and refined towards popular culture, and resulted in them removing themselves from mass entertainments to pursue their own calendar of events. It made economic sense for a town to claim to be polite as this attracted visitors and custom.[201] Sweet claims that 'fashionable travellers found the society of provincial towns inferior and lacking in politeness in order to confirm the superiority of London'. The perceived politeness of a town could depend upon its gentry connections. Those like Tewkesbury, with ports or manufacturing businesses, were likely to be avoided by those seeking politeness except as stopping places en route to other destinations.[202] This section investigates the extent to which the entertainments and attractions in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury developed and changed during the period to entice the wealthy and refined to visit and reside there.

The extent to which a town was seen as being polite depended at least in part on the amount of fashionable recreational activities and services that were offered. The first half of the

[199] (GRO), Hearth Tax Assessments for Michaelmas, D383, 1671-2.
[200] (GRO), Will, 1743/173, pp. 1-2, George Peyton, 1743.
[201] R H. Sweet, 'Topographies of Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), 355-374, (367).
[202] Sweet, 'Topographies of Politeness', 359-60.

seventeenth century saw increased interest in refined pursuits like bowling and tennis. Ludlow had 'a fayre tennys corte' near the outer bailey of the castle from 1658.[203] Bowling greens were important as they were primitive sites for display and promenading; they also occupied a dual function in urban culture by providing both entertainment and a place to be seen. Less fashionable centres like Hereford and Tewkesbury retained their bowling greens long after the wealthy and genteel had moved on to more polite pursuits.[204] The bowling greens of both towns were attached to inns; the fact that the name of the inn often advertised the availability of this entertainment suggests the importance and longevity of bowling in these towns. [205]

The ancient festivals, previously popular with all social groups, were avoided by the wealthy towards the middle of the eighteenth century. Polite society then distanced itself from these carnivalesque events as they increasingly shared the view of civic government that such gatherings represented a threat to social order. Ludlow had five annual fairs.[206] Shrove Tuesday was a general holiday; the tug-of-war between the inhabitants of the main streets frequently resulted in mayhem and dangerous accidents.[207] St. Ethelbert's or the Nine Days fair was the main Hereford festival and the entertainment highlight of the year for many people.[208] Gambling and sports like cockfighting also took place; this blood-sport remained popular until the middle of the eighteenth century when the more genteel elements of society moved on to other pursuits.[209]

Peter Clark maintains that the inn was the hub of all activity before purpose-built genteel entertainment venues. Superior inns were purpose built structures that could offer 'privacy and comfort' to conduct business transactions. They were also used as trading posts and warehouses to store goods; *The White Hart* in Hereford, for example, was involved in tea trading in 1746.[210] Auctions were held in many inns, providing both an important business

[203] This was a bowling green. Tony Hobbs, *The Pubs of Ludlow* (Logaston: Logaston Press, 2002), p. 22.
[204] Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, pp. 173-5.
[205] Both of these inns were called *The Bowling Green.* See: Tonkin, *The Book of Hereford*, p. 97; Kathleen Ross, *The Book of Tewkesbury* (Buckingham: Barracuda, 1986), p. 63.
[206] Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow*, p. 119.
[207] Hobbs, *The Pubs of Ludlow*, pp. 35-6.
[208] Roberts, *The Shaping of Modern Hereford,* p. 183.
[209] Ron Shoesmith, *The Pubs of Hereford City* (Logaston: Logaston Press, 1998), p. 33: Cockfighting was also advertised in 1749 at *The Feathers* in Ludlow. Hobbs, *The Pubs of Ludlow*, p. 95; Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p. 176
[210] Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse* (Harlow: Longman, 1983), p. 8; Shoesmith, *The Pubs of Hereford City*, p. 61.

function and a social occasion.[211] The main role of inns, however, was as a social centre for the genteel where premises were employed for a diverse range of events. Refined pastimes began to emerge with private function rooms reserved for this purpose, and attendance was permitted for the price of entry. Patrons went to dance, talk, and play cards in polite company.[212] Larger inns served new hot drinks in china dishes and used fashionable fabrics to enhance the comfort and reputation of their premises.

Roy Millward and Adrian Robinson suggest that in Ludlow and Hereford, 'The landed gentry could retire to comfortable town houses to enjoy a social round of balls and gambling, concerts, theatrical entertainments, literary societies and improving lectures'.[213] There is evidence of theatrical productions in Ludlow and Hereford, but it is also likely that they were held in Tewkesbury.[214] Ludlow boasted 'commodious assembly rooms in the market hall' which were built in 1702, earlier than either Hereford or Tewkesbury.[215] Before such venues were erected assemblies would have been held in relics from the Tudor period: Hereford had a spacious market hall and Tewkesbury had its town hall. This illustrates that the towns had amenities for polite social events, but Ludlow was in the vanguard as a leisure town, enabling it to develop facilities at an early stage for both residents and visiting company.

Commercial London entertainments were imitated in the provinces; these illustrated the diffusion of metropolitan culture. An example of this in Hereford is *The Three Choirs Festival*, which took place from at least 1720. A nightly ball was held during the period of the event.[216] However, the city did not offer seasonal amusements until the second half of the eighteenth century. In winter, there were card and dancing assemblies, and occasionally plays and concerts. In summer, Hereford offered 'favourite walks in the neighbourhood' and 'frequent excursions in parties on the River Wye'.[217] However, the polite entertainments did

[211] Advertisements for the auction of household goods held in inns were recorded in eighteenth-century newspapers.
[212] Ellis, *The Georgian Town*, p. 80.
[213] Roy Millward and Adrian Robinson, *The Welsh Borders* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1978), pp. 199-200.
[214] Plays were advertised in Ludlow's *The Rose and Crown. The Angel* had players performing from Hereford in 1713. Hobbs, *The Pubs of Ludlow*, pp. 46, 53: In 1748, *The Swan and Falcon* in Hereford held a play by the Warwickshire Company of Comedians. Shoesmith, *The Pubs of Hereford City*, p. 44.
[215] The Guildhall in Hereford was not built until 1759. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p. 326; Tewkesbury's Guildhall was not built until 1788. *Victoria County History*, ed. by Elrington, p. 118.
[216] Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, pp. 123, 333-41.
[217] Price, *Account of the City of Hereford*, pp. 74-6.

not always reach the expected standards of its visitors. Mrs Delany described socializing in Hereford as 'dirty beaux, awkward belles, bad dancing and worse fiddles'.[218]

Hereford cathedral is an example of how, in the early modern period, the church was 'the hub of many activities'[219]. The cathedral close, the Bishop's Palace and gardens were all pleasant areas in which to promenade. The Cathedral had also retained its medieval chained library, to which only the respectable had access. These chained libraries serve to emphasis the conservative nature of Hereford attractions. Ludlow and Tewkesbury similarly would have had numerous activities taking place within their church buildings. Musical activities in Tewkesbury centred on the abbey church with its three organs.[220] The abbey was restored, and a pre-restoration organ was installed in 1737.[221]

Walks were social occasions, and were often taken around sites other than church grounds. Borsay argues 'laid out walks were a fundamental part of a resort's facilities', but Stobart et al insists that the number of walks is difficult to assess as many were not purposely laid out.[222] Both Ludlow and Hereford had public walks around the sites of their castles, but Ludlow also had the terrace walk on the north side of the churchyard from at least 1684.[223] Hereford also had 'the sally walk' which followed the city walls, as shown in an illustrated view of the town by Buck in 1732.[224] This was similar to the layout of Chester.[225]

Refined outdoor events like horseracing were popular. These meetings appealed to the wealthy and gentry on a number of levels. Stobart et al suggest that race meetings were 'important social events, mixing sociability and display with gambling and the excitement of crowds'.[226] However, race week was just as important to the lower ranks.[227] Race meetings were popular in the three towns during the early modern period. Ludlow had sixteen in 1728,

[218] Peter Clark and R.A. Houston, 'Culture and Leisure 1700-1840' in *Cambridge Urban History*, ed.by Peter Clark, pp. 575-614, (p. 577).
[219] Roberts, *The City of Hereford*, p. 19.
[220] *Victoria County History*, ed. by Elrington, p. 123.
[221] Jones, *Tewkesbury*, p. 130.
[222] Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p. 162-4; Jon Stobart and others, *Spaces of Consumption* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), p. 30.
[223]Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow*, p. 111.
[224] Roberts, *The Shaping of Modern Hereford*, p. 8.
[225] Jon Stobart, 'Shopping Streets as Social Space: Consumerism Improvement and Leisure in an Eighteenth-Century Town', *Urban History* 25 (1998), 3-21, (p. 9).
[226] Stobart and others, *Spaces of Consumption*, p. 28.
[227] Ellis, *The Georgian Town*, p. 83.

Hereford had eight races in 1730 and Tewkesbury had four in 1721.[228] The large number of fixtures at Ludlow illustrates the importance of racing in bringing trade as well as social pleasure to the people of the town.

William Dyde, a local book-printer, antiquarian and a great promoter of the town, admitted that entertainments in Tewkesbury were limited. He claimed 'the amusements of a county town cannot be supposed to be very diversified. In the winter season, there are card and dancing assemblies…. and the establishment of two reading societies. There is also a bowling green'.[229] Tewkesbury struggled to provide attractions; its location between two rivers and the frequent flooding meant that laid out walks were impossible. The majority of the entertainments held there were the product of the later eighteenth century, or were ancient and unfashionable.

Urban life and polite interaction were aided by improvements in communications. Styles argues that 'new design ideas passed rapidly to provincial centres, aided by better roads, newspapers and prints, and by shopkeepers visiting London'.[230] The literate and the educated were attracted to Ludlow, but Hereford also had a long literary tradition.[231] Porter points out that up to 1700, all newspapers had been printed in London and were rattled down to the provinces by coach.[232] Ludlow had a short-lived newspaper that published London news in 1719-20, whereas Hereford had the far more successful *The Hereford Journal* available from 1713 up to the present day.[233] Hereford also had printers: Will Parks was responsible for the first book, *Pasca, printed* in the town in 1721.[234] There were early attempts at receiving London news in Tewkesbury; in 1633 a scribe was paid '£5 for six months to send news to

[228] Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, pp. 363, 359.
[229] Dyde, *Antiquities of Tewkesbury*, p. 64.
[230] John Styles, 'Who Led Taste' in *Design and the Decorative Arts*, ed.by John Snodin and John Styles (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2001), p. 217.
[231] For example in Ludlow, there was the poet, John Milton in 1634 who wrote *Comus. Ludlow, A Historic Town in Words and Pictures*, ed. by David Lloyd and Peter Klein (Chichester: Philimore, 1984), pp. 58-9: In Hereford, there was Miles Smith, a translator of the Bible for James I, J. Phillips, a poet, and John Gwillim who wrote a book on heraldry. Price, *Account of the History of Hereford,* pp. 156-61.
[232] Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Allen Lane, 1982), p. 234.
[233] Copies of *The Hereford Journal* from 1770 are in Hereford Record Office. Earlier copies are meant to exist in The National Archives, but are not found in the British Newspaper Archive. Online copies appear to date from the later eighteenth century. Also British Library newspapers are inaccessible due to the collections being moved to a new storage facility in Yorkshire.
<http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/news/newspapermoves/index.html> [Accessed 20 February 2014]
[234] Tonkin, *The Book of Hereford*, p. 57.

the Tewkesbury Borough Council'.[235] Newspapers may have been available in the large inns that took on the functions of coffee houses.

Many of the exclusive leisure activities were not only intended to help in the promotion of sociable and polite society, but by definition were also designed to exclude others. This section has shown how polite society withdrew from traditional celebrations and created their own social pursuits, which in turn created a stronger sense of group identity amongst the prosperous, educated elite.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed some features of the social and economic environment of early modern Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury, and demonstrated ways in which they experienced urban development and change during this period.

The three towns remained traditional in nature between 1660 and 1760 because there was no devastating fire or large-scale demolition by Civil War before the period. However, urban development did evolve as those that embraced polite and fashionable living either built new houses or adapted old buildings. Demolition and replacement in most instances was a later eighteenth-century phenomenon. Although fashionable living was diluted in the provinces, the three towns did have specialised shops and the beginnings of polite entertainments and public spaces. Unlike London and other large cities, there appeared to be no growth of coffee houses. Instead, traditional inns re-invented themselves to meet the demand for new polite ways of socialising; this included the provision of modish hot drinks in china vessels. Quality inns also used fashionable decorations and encouraged politeness and segregation by setting aside specialised rooms for exclusive private and public functions. The role of inns in encouraging the spread of new fashionable goods will be examined in chapter three.

Due to the proximity of the border, both Ludlow and Hereford experienced Welsh settlement which gave both towns interesting, yet divergent, cultural compositions. Ludlow's historic administrative responsibility for Wales meant that the town had numerous links with the Welsh gentry, many of whom retained large town houses in the main streets. The abolition of the Council of the Marches lost Ludlow much of its previous importance and prestige, but it

[235] Ross, *Tewkesbury*, p. 44.

was able to successfully re-invent itself as a social centre. This new status attracted many itinerant workers who indirectly sought employment from the influx of gentry and wealthy visitors. By the end of the period Ludlow's transformation into a leisure town was well under way with an emerging class of wealthy attorneys, doctors and politicians buying up and building large houses.

Hereford, despite its Cathedral community and city status, was not as well connected as Ludlow. The town had many historic trade links with Wales, and this westward connection may have further removed the town from the vibrant polite culture of the south. Despite this, Hereford was able to attract some wealthy and professional members of the middling ranks who were drawn by the assizes and the cathedral to live in the spacious properties of St. Owen's ward.

During the period, Tewkesbury remained a manufacturing centre, but its importance as an inland port lay in the recent past. The lack of gentry in the town created opportunities for the middling ranks to prosper, with the wealthier among them occupying substantial houses in the main streets. Although polite society was less likely to live in Tewkesbury due to the rival attractions of larger urban centres such as Gloucester and Bristol, Tewkesbury did have a role as a resting place en route to other destinations. This resulted in large, luxurious inns and some quality shops, such as goldsmiths and mercers, catering for polite fashionable travellers by the third decade of the eighteenth-century.

This chapter has established the nature of the towns during the period as exhibiting solid traditions while also developing urban interests and an idea of fashionable living. Ludlow was the leader in this evolution with Hereford supporting a smaller, yet significant, community of gentry and wealthy middling rank society, whereas Tewkesbury boasted a cohort of wealthy middling rank tradesmen. The next chapter intends to identify a methodology with which to determine status divisions within the middling ranks. Together, these will ensure that subsequent chapters can analyse more accurately how urban surroundings and status influenced the lifestyles and domestic environments of the inhabitants within the sample.

Chapter Two: Rank, status and wealth amongst the middling sorts in early modern Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury

Introduction

This chapter analyses a sample of probate documents from the three towns between 1660 and 1760 with the intention of constructing a framework that allows individuals' rank and status to be identified. Historians have long wrestled with the question of defining early modern status, especially amongst the emerging middling ranks; many adopted the term 'middling sorts' as a convenient, if imprecise, term.[236] This chapter does not claim to provide a definitive solution to this thorny problem, but addresses a number of defining criteria. The status of those in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample requires evaluation to allow the link between consumption and status to be investigated in subsequent chapters.

There are many reasons why probate might have been activated, for example, disputes, intestacy, debt or bankruptcy, but the result is a rich seam of contemporary information that can be scrutinised by historians seeking understanding of past lives. Since this study relies on a limited sample of inventories it is important to question how representative they are for the wider population of the three towns. Mark Overton et al argue that their Cornish and Kent inventory samples excludes the top 10 per cent and the bottom 40 per cent of society when compared with the 1664 Hearth Tax. This is because the richest, having property in more than one diocese, had their probate proved in Prerogative Courts, and the poorer sections of society had less than £5 worth of movables, making probate unnecessary.[237] By contrast, the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample provides a broader cross section of the inhabitants of those towns; this is achieved by examining all the surviving probate documents from the second and third year out of every decade between 1662 and 1753. Probate documents proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, located by Ludlow Historical Society, have been included in the sample.[238] Additionally, some of the inventory values reflect the poorer sorts with less than £5 of movables. It can therefore be argued that this study, despite using

[236] H. R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); French, 'Social Status, 'Localism and the "Middle Sort of People" in England 1620-1750', *Past and Present*, 166 (2000), 66-99. See also: Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (London: University of California Press, 1996); *The Middling Sort of People* ed. by Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1994).
[237] Mark Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households 1600-1750* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), pp. 20-2.
[238] Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury are located at The National Archives in PROB 11.

fewer inventories, provides a broader representation of the economic circumstances of people than that of Overton et al.

The middling section of society was emerging and developing during the early modern period due to the growing economic strength of Britain. This allowed opportunities in the world of commerce and manufacture for the 'accumulation and productive investment of capital'.[239] The middling ranks were essentially an urban group lacking the age-old status symbol of land. They thus needed to define their place in the social order, which they achieved by separating themselves from the lower sorts through superior housing, furnishing and clothing. They also sought to acquire elements of a common culture with those above them; Wrightson asserts this was achieved by the 'cultivation of a sense of selfhood…a way of assuring oneself that one possesses certain attributes and tastes'.[240] Many established a sense of their own identity and self-worth by remodelling their living environments, and historians broadly agree that middling rank influence was instrumental in transforming the appearance and culture of provincial towns.[241]

The last two decades of scholarly research supports this theory, with the findings suggesting that the middling ranks acted in a similar manner regardless of geographical location or size of town. [242] Spurred by social competition, the wealthier elements transformed many urban landscapes, and French suggests the relationship was mutually reinforcing with 'towns creating the middling, and the middling (re)-creating towns'.[243] Borsay declares: 'much of the wealth and entrepreneurial skill behind the urban renaissance came from the expanding middling groups, who were pressing for admission into the ranks of gentility', whilst Wrightson argues that the richest 'merchants and leading professionals were almost seen as

[239] Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), pp. 22-23.
[240] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, pp. 28; 297-9.
[241] For example: French, *The Middle Sort*; Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Overton and others, *Production*; Barry and Brooks, *The Middling Sort*; Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, (London: Methuen (1989); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (London: Routledge, 1988).
[242] These are regional studies and articles by: Eleanor John, 'At Home with the London Middling Sort-The Inventory Evidence for Furnishings and Room Use, 1570-1720', *Regional Furniture*, 22 (2008), 27-51; Overton and others, *Production*; J. Beckett and Catherine Smith, 'Urban renaissance and Consumer Revolution in Nottingham, *Urban History* (2000), 31-50; Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*; A. McInnes, 'The Emergence of a Leisure Town: Shrewsbury 1660-1850', *Past and Present*, 120 (1988), pp. 53-84;Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*; Jon Stobart, 'Shopping Streets as Social Space: Consumerism Improvement and Leisure in an Eighteenth-Century Town', *Urban History*, 25 (1988), 3-21.
[243] P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp.176-7; French, *The Middle Sort*, pp. 93 and 143.

members of the gentry in terms of their social status'.[244] However, while the lower sorts may not have drawn too much of a distinction between the higher middling ranks and the gentry, the inferiorities of class and breeding would have been only too apparent to the established gentry themselves. As important, but less apparent, and something H. R. French attempts to clarify, is how this social group thought of themselves and by what means they divided themselves into hierarchies: this is the subject of the analysis in Chapter 2.[245]

The middle section of the inhabitants of a town covered a very broad spectrum from lesser tradesmen and artisans to members of the lower gentry. Weatherill describes this social group vaguely as 'neither at the bottom (servants, labourers and wage earners), nor at the top, (country gentry and aristocracy)'.[246] Historians each have their own criteria for determining composition of the middling rank, making definition problematical. Nicholas Rogers suggests that the eighteenth century middling ranks 'defied sociological definition', while Jonathan Barry maintains that the middling ranks were more fragmented than other social groups.[247] The common factor was the need to earn an income in a trade or profession.

French suggests that although the term 'middle sort of people' first occurred in London in the late sixteenth century, it did not become popular until the mid-eighteenth century. People from these ranks could be known as the 'chief' or 'principal' inhabitants, 'part of the better sort', 'gentlemen', 'ratepayers' and 'mere honest neighbours'.[248] French was also concerned with how the middling ranks defined themselves within their own social group. He states they attempted to explain themselves in terms of 'worth, honesty, credit and repute'. Ultimately the highest- ranking members of this section of society defined themselves on a 'notion of annual income and capacity to pay taxes'. These individuals, being rich, were considered the best candidates to hold the highest positions in local administration being held less likely to be corruptible.[249]

Styles argues that there was a larger proportion of the middling ranks in Britain than in other European countries, but Earle interprets the middling sort as 'Commercial or industrial

[244] Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, p. 307; Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, p. 290.
[245] French, *The Middle Sort*, pp. 17-20.
[246] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 13.
[247] Barry, 'Introduction', in *The Middling Sort*, ed. by Barry and Brooks, (pp. 1-27), p. 17.
[248] French, 'Social Status', 68- 98.
[249] French, *The Middle Sort*, p.116.

capitalists, who had a stock of money, acquired by paternal gift, inheritance or loan'.[250] The problem with general definitions is that they describe the middling ranks as a homogenous group, which they were not. The middling sorts were from different economic backgrounds, and like other social groups were fractured into sub-hierarchies. Weatherill argues convincingly that these people of apparently similar resources had dissimilar lives.[251]

This brings us to a key attribute of the middling ranks: despite the different levels of income and wealth the majority of these individuals were seen to have had their lives governed by 'politeness,' as did the upper social groups. It has been argued that the middling ranks were a beneficial force in early modern England as they 'boosted urban economies' by their demand for goods and services, and by their aspiration to live in 'polite' and refined environments.[252]

Chapter 1 investigated the effect and appeal of politeness on the three towns under scrutiny. It showed how, to varying degrees, politeness drove an urban renaissance of building development, both public and private, and attendant measures designed to improve public spaces for socializing. This chapter explores the personal ramifications of being able to project the appropriate manner in company and in business. Styles claims that politeness 'was an all-embracing philosophy of manners. It promoted openness and accessibility in social behaviour, but at the same time set demanding standards as to precisely how people should behave'.[253]

Gentility went hand-in-hand with politeness. Although true gentility was held to stem from birth and breeding, the meaning expanded during this period to incorporate those members of the middling ranks whose wealth afforded a series of social and cultural markers. Gentility was desirable as it embodied wealth and power as well as social and political authority. A genteel lifestyle could be suggested by the ownership, display and use of expressive goods and fashionable commodities. Politeness and conduct books indicate that the provincial middling ranks were aware of new modes of behaviour, but may have struggled to achieve the correct level of politeness. This is illustrated by the number of self-help guides that were

[250] John Styles, 'Georgian Britain, 1714-1837, Introduction', in *Design and the Decorative Arts*, ed. by John Snodin and John Styles (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2001), pp. 157-85, (p. 180); Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class* pp. 3-4.
[251] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. xviii.
[252] Beckett and Smith, 'Urban renaissance', p. 36.
[253] Styles, 'Georgian Britain', in *Design and the Decorative Arts*, ed. by Snodin and Styles, pp. 181-4.

available to the lower ranks.[254] These suggest that the projection of genteel living did not guarantee acceptance, as gentility was expressed in different ways by various social groups.[255]

Wrightson has expanded the sociological concept of cultural capital put forward by Pierre Bourdieu. He argues that business success required more than politeness, and that politeness was part of a 'cultural capital of acquired skills, knowledge and demeanour'.[256] This needed to be teamed with other types of capital: economic capital provided finance or goods, whilst social capital invested the individual with 'networks of obligation and support'. Wrightson states capital came from 'an individual's family of origin', yet politeness could form a social glue that bound people together in a cultural matrix.[257] Paul Langford suggests that politeness was complex and depended on location and circumstance; some, such as inn holders and shopkeepers, cultivated politeness to maximise the amount of money spent by the wealthy.[258] Within genteel society there existed a strict hierarchy where members of the middling ranks, who considered themselves genteel amongst their colleagues, had to present themselves as plainer and simpler than their gentry associates.[259] In order to assess status and hierarchy in the three towns, the next section first produces a range of inventory valuations, and then suggests a methodology for investigating the relationship between wealth and status.

Defining Middling Status

The people with the fewest moveable goods were not always those with the lowest status. Some low-value inventories may have been taken due to an assumption that there was unrecorded capital elsewhere, to comply with the 1529 Act. For example, Thomas Tongue, a lower middling rank Ludlow butcher had an inventory assessed at £0.06.00, but he had died away from home and all that was listed was his hat and wearing apparel.[260] This example reminds us that inventories do not record lifecycle or seasonal variations that might affect the recorded wealth of testators such as farmers, butchers, or others with cyclical or rapid

[254] Lawrence Klein, 'Politeness for Plebes, Consumption and Social Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century England ' in *The Consumption of Culture*, ed. by Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 362-82, (pp. 367-75).
[255] French, *The Middle Sort*, pp. 20; 149.
[256] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction* (London: Routledge, 1986), pp. 152-3.
[257] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, p. 290.
[258] Paul Langford, 'The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), 311-331, (319).
[259] French, *The Middle Sort*, p. 149.
[260]Hereford, Hereford Record Office, (Ever after (HRO)), Inventory, AA20, p.1, Thomas Tongue, 1693.

turnover of stock, grain or meat. Some low value inventories, however, do suggest a sparse existence with few household goods; there were examples of these in each of the three towns.[261] Table 2.1 investigates the average total valuations in the three town sample, and includes trade goods, debts owed, and mortgages and bonds.

Table 2.1 The range of inventory total valuations in £'s from the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample

Male	**Ludlow** n = 69	**Hereford** n =107	**Tewkesbury** n = 40
	No.	No.	No.
Mean	133.72	90.84	108.67
Mode	18	4,6	multimodal[262]
Median	33	23	38
Female	**Ludlow** n = 22	**Hereford** n = 39	**Tewkesbury** n =11
Mean	54.5	72.51	54.18
Mode	Multimodal[263]	12	0[264]
Median	15	16	60

In Table 2.1 the males in the three towns have higher mean averages than females because the majority of males had trade goods. The Ludlow male sample had the highest mean as it included wealthy tradesmen and innholders in the sample, whereas the Hereford sample had the lowest mean. The Hereford male sample contained the highest number of inventories of low monetary value; paradoxically, the Hereford female sample had the highest mean average at £72.51, possibly because it included successful shopkeepers and moneylenders possessing high value movables. Ludlow had the lowest mean average at £54.50; this possibly reflects the presence of lower middle ranking elderly females, and women in the poorly paid glove making or service industries. The Tewkesbury female sample had the highest median, but this was a particularly small sample. It is evident that the monetary total

[261] In Ludlow, Thomas Bodell was described as a yeoman, but was more likely a husbandman. Inventory assessed at £1.18.06. In Hereford, Richard Ballard had the lowest value inventory at £2.00.06. In Tewkesbury, Mathew Keyes, another husbandman described as a yeoman, was assessed at £1.06.10: (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, Thomas Bodell, 1682; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, Richard Ballard, 1692; Gloucester, Gloucester Record Office, (Ever after (GRO)), Inventory, 1752/37, p.1, Matthew Keyes, 1752.
[262] In the Tewkesbury male sample there were six pairs, these were 12, 14, 18, 29, 54 and 338.
[263] In the Ludlow female sample there were four pairs, these were 4, 6, 14 and 17.
[264] In the very small Tewkesbury sample, there were no pairs.

value of the inventories varied by town. Jacob Davies, a tin plate worker had the highest-valued Ludlow inventory valued at £1631.09.00 in 1733.[265] In Hereford, Jonah Taylor, an esquire, left £1132.16.11 of movables in 1722.[266] The inventory with the highest monetary value in Tewkesbury belonged to Thomas Cotton, an inn holder; his 1733 inventory was assessed at £605. Interestingly, these three wealthy men with large amounts of movables came from different economic and social backgrounds.

The majority of inventories and wills in the probate sample were from men; this discrepancy between men and women is highlighted in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 The numbers, percentages and ratio of men and women in the probate sample from Ludlow, Hereford, and Tewkesbury, 1662-1753

Inventories	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**% of Males**	**% of Females**	**Ratio of men to women**
Ludlow	91	69	22	75.82	24.17	3.13
Hereford	146	107	39	73.28	26.71	2.74
Tewkesbury	51	40	11	78.43	21.56	3.63
Wills						
Ludlow	106	80	26	75.47	24.52	3.07
Hereford	122	72	50	59.01	40.98	1.44
Tewkesbury	59	37	22	62.71	37.28	1.68

The data shows that women represented between 21.56% and 26.71% of the sample, which is considerably higher than the 15% stated in the research of Weatherill (in her much larger sample), and the 17% in Kent and 15% in Cornwall of Overton et al, supporting the theory that the three towns attracted single women.[267] The highest percentage of female wills was in Hereford; this suggests that more women made wills there, or that more female wills survive.

Having assessed the monetary total value of the inventories, a methodology was required to investigate the relationship between levels of wealth, and how this corresponded to status.

[265] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, Jacob Davies, 1733.
[266] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, Jonah Taylor, 1723.
[267] Lorna Weatherill, 'A Possession of One's Own: Women and Consumer Behaviour in England, 1660-1740', *Journal of British Studies*, 25 (1986), 131-156, (p.133); Overton and others, *Production*, p. 23.

The criteria, based on the data of Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, were designed to identify indicators of rank before the ownership of goods was analysed.[268] Although the research of Davidoff and Hall relates to the later period of 1780-1850, elements of their work have been adapted to compile Table 2.3 for the period of this study. This table employs inventories, wills and taxation schedules to establish evidence on the males in the inventory sample, although some accompanying wills are lost or were never made. Often, even surviving wills are brief and unenlightening, merely recording that a wife was both the executrix and sole beneficiary. Contrastingly, descriptive wills may helpfully provide names of family members and acquaintances in addition to detailing the amount and whereabouts of property. They may also reveal that the personal judgement of an individual regarding their own status did not necessarily accord with that of the inventory appraisers; this is strongly indicative of the porous boundaries existing between the sub-hierarchies of the middling ranks.

[268] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes, Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Routledge, 1987), p. 24.

Table 2.3 Defining the Middling Ranks, 1660-1760

Higher Middling Rank	Intermediate or Lower Middling Rank
Employed workers.	Single person enterprise or used family labour.
Farm of 200 acres or more.	Farm between 50-199 acres.
Left property in trust for dependents.	Left household goods to family members.
Owned several pieces of land and properties.	House leased from landlord or Corporation, or small amount of property owned
Possessed at least one house in a prestigious street.	Lived above own shop or in lesser streets.
Held higher positions in local government.	Held lower or no position in local government.
Wives and daughters not involved in business.	Wives assisted in business or had their own enterprises.
The total value of moveable goods exceeded £250	The total value of moveable goods was less than £250
Family connections to local gentry or other wealthy families.	Family and associates of same social status as themselves.
Employed in a higher or respected trade or profession.	Employed in a lower trade or profession.
Had seven or more rooms in their property	Had six or less rooms in their property
Had five or more hearths in their property	Had four or fewer hearths in their property
Made charitable bequests	Did not make charitable bequests

Through a number of parameters Table 2.3 importantly highlights the nuances of status. The criteria for employed workers can be problematic: family members may have been used in leaner times without loss of status, and higher middling rank enterprises could be run by sole traders or professionals such as attorneys. The division between the numbers of rooms is an approximation; Priestley and Corfield maintain there are 'special difficulties in urban areas' of estimating the size of houses and the numbers of rooms from inventories.[269]

The benchmark for higher middling rank farms has been set at two hundred acres or more as commercial farms of this size could not be cultivated by family labour alone. This divides

[269] Ursula Priestley and P. J. Corfield, 'Rooms and Room Use in Norwich Housing, 1580-1730', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 16 (1982), 93-123 (p. 94).

wealthy yeomen and farmers from lesser tenant farmers and husbandmen.[270] Davidoff and Hall define higher ranking individuals as owning farms of over 300 acres; since Table 2.3 examines an earlier pre-Parliamentary enclosure period with fewer farming innovations it seems plausible to claim that wealthy men may have owned less land than their later Georgian and Victorian counterparts.[271] Similarly, the value of household goods was set at £250 or over to separate the wealthy from the numerous less successful traders.[272] Although £250 of moveable goods could be seen as too high for the last quarter of the seventeenth century, when people owned fewer goods, the division between higher middling rank and those below them needed to be established. Men from the higher middling ranks might fulfil a number of Table 2.3 criteria even if, for example, their total moveable wealth was less than £250. These contradictions highlight the need for a methodology which adds depth to any analysis of this complex social group.

The values of goods listed in inventories were examined using the research of Overton. This covers the prices of household goods, agricultural equipment, crops and livestock in Hertfordshire, Worcestershire and Lincolnshire inventories between 1550 and 1749. Overton concludes that there were fluctuations in the prices of commodities, but by the mid-eighteenth century the valuations given for household goods had declined considerably from the mid-seventeenth century. [273] This is possibly due to the increased availability of goods leading to lower prices as a result of improved transport networks and more organized production techniques.

To place the values of the inventories in the three town sample in a hierarchy of wealth, the cases were compared with other inventory-based studies, for example, Weatherill, Overton et al and Earle. Clearly, the residents of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury were not as wealthy as the prosperous London tradesmen identified by Earle; the three towns had more in

[270] The majority of the smallholdings in Herefordshire in 1866 were less than fifty acres. *The Agrarian History of England and Wales,* ed. by Joan Thirsk, 8 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967-2011), V (1984), pp. 172-3.
[271] Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes,* Table 1, p. 24.
[272] Household goods were set at £250 or over to suggest a level of affluence, also many male inventories included a significant proportion of trade goods. Inventory evidence was not used by Davidoff and Hall due to the later period that they examined.
[273] Mark Overton, 'Prices from Probate Inventories', in *When Death Do Us Part,* ed. by Tom Arkell and others (Oxford: Leopard's Head, 2000), pp. 120-42, (p. 140).

common with the research of Overton et al on Cornwall. [274] To an extent, Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury, like Cornwall, were on the periphery of fashionable culture. Weatherill examines the middling ranks from five counties with the nearest county to this study being North Shropshire. However, Weatherill concludes that the amounts of goods owned by the middling ranks there was the lowest of any; even remote Cumbria had more growth.[275]

Table 2.4 records how some of the middling ranks were recorded by probate assessors in their inventories compared with the status they afforded themselves in their wills. It does not examine the numerous middling urban trades by occupation; this is problematic as not every male occupation is recorded in inventories. This table raises questions about the ambiguity of status and rank, for example, there were a number of men recorded as 'gentlemen' regardless of their economic background.

[274] For example the lowest wealth group in the research by Earle was £500 or less, whilst his highest wealth group was £5000 and over. Most of the middling rank inventory sample was significantly wealthier than the richest from Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury. Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, p. 291; one of the richest men in the Cornwall sample left an inventory assessed at over £1,000. Overton and others, *Production*, p. 155.
[275] This involved examining the percentages of household goods quantitatively. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 58.

Table 2.4 Highest and lowest positions of males in society as defined by Weatherill and applied to the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1753

Status		Esquires	Gentry	Yeomen	Husband-men	Labourers	Others[276]
Ludlow							
Inventories n = 69	No.	1	10	8	1	1	48
	%	1.44	14.49	11.59	1.44	1.44	69.56
Wills n = 80	No.	2	21	8	1	0	48
	%	2.50	26.25	10.00	1.25	0	60
Hereford							
Inventories n = 107	No.	1	6	6	1	1	92
	%	0.93	5.60	5.60	0.93	0.93	85.98
Wills n = 72	No.	2	4	4	1	1	60
	%	2.77	5.55	5.55	1.39	0.81	83.33
Tewkesbury							
Inventories n = 40	No.	0	3	4	2	2	29
	%	0	7.5	10	5	5	72.50
Wills n = 37	No.	0	6	5	1	2	23
	%	0	16.21	13.51	1.66	5.40	62.16

Some of the 'gentlemen' in Table 2.4 were members of the wealthy higher middling ranks, being mainly tradesmen, yeomen and innholders living in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury during the period. In the case of wills that described the testator as a 'gentleman', it is likely that a degree of self-fashioning was evident. The term 'gentleman' could describe anyone from an old established family, or with a certain level of wealth, but a general criterion remained that a gentleman was one whose status was recognised by other gentlemen. Most of the individuals conformed to the notion that wealth brings status, but some had few moveable possessions; it is possible that they owned land or property or had gentry connections. There was a large disparity in wealth amongst these men who described themselves as gentlemen.[277] The gentry valuations of Weatherill show a similar variance in valuations (£5

[276]These were manufacturers, tradesmen, artisans and innholders. The men in this category were higher ranking, intermediate status and lesser ranking tradesmen. These occupational, consumption and wealth orientated labels were used by Weatherill to divide tradesmen into hierarchies and are investigated later. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, pp. 176-81.

[277] In Ludlow, this was between £18.10.00 and £1966.09.00. In Hereford, the range was between £1.08.09 and £1132.16.11. In Tewkesbury, it was between £89.02.00 and £395.05.00.

to 2,677).[278] The early modern period appears to be a time when older status definitions were widening, and the term 'gentleman' was increasingly appropriated by the socially aspirational. Many individuals described as gentlemen were from what Lloyd calls established families; their numbers increased in Ludlow from sixty-five in 1667 to one hundred and twenty in 1724.[279] Some were likely to be *nouveau riche*: able to live like the gentry and afford the trappings of gentility.

Table 2.5 illustrates the actual number of lower gentry in the three town sample. Using a qualitative approach it examines inventories alongside wills, taxation records and printed sources to investigate family background, real estate and connections.[280] Ludlow, as the former administrative capital of Wales and an emerging leisure town, had the most gentry; Hereford, a remote county capital, had fewer whilst Tewkesbury, as an eclipsed manufacturing centre, had the least.

Table 2.5 The members of the gentry in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury inventory sample, 1662-1753

Male Inventories	**Ludlow** n = 69	**Hereford** n =107	**Tewkesbury** n = 40
Number	6	3	1
Per cent	8.69	2.80	2.70
Male Wills	**n = 80**	**n = 72**	**n = 37**
Number	20	4	3
Per cent	7.5	5.55	8.10
Female Inventories	**Ludlow** n = 22	**Hereford** n = 39	**Tewkesbury** n = 11
Number	1	1	0
Per cent	4.54	2.56	0
Female Wills	**26**	**50**	**22**
Number	8	3	2
Per cent	30.76	6.00	9.09

Table 2.5 identifies male and female members of the gentry to show their proportional presence in the three-town will sample. Table 2.6 illustrates status using the total value of moveable goods.

[278] This appears to be a drawback of quantitative analysis; the sample of inventories is too large to investigate the social and economic backgrounds of the testators. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 169.
[279] David Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow* (Ludlow: Merlin Unwin, 1999), p. 108.
[280] This bibliographical information is in Appendix 1.

Table 2.6 The status of male testators based on the total valuations of their movables in the inventory samples from Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury, 1662-1753

	Ludlow Invs. n = 69		**Hereford** Invs. n =107		**Tewkesbury** Invs. n = 40	
Status	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Gentry	6	8.69	3	2.80	1	2.50
High status/ professionals or over £250	8	11.59	14	13.08	8	20.00
Intermediate status £50-£249	9	13.04	17	15.88	7	17.50
Lesser trades below £50	35	50.72	64	59.81	16	40.00
Yeomen £60 or over[281]	1	1.44	2	1.86	2	5
Husbandmen under £60	9	13.04	6	5.60	4	10
Labourers	1	1.44	1	0.93	2	5

Assessing status on consumption alone can be misleading. Status and consumption were linked because people of a similar status group or occupation tended to follow similar patterns of consumption. Even so, it will be shown that evaluating status by independent means (Tables 2.3 and 2.4), in addition to using inventories, provides a more comprehensive and robust assessment. An inventory represents only a fragmented snap-shot of the assets of the deceased taken soon after death. As it also excludes property and some rentier income it can distort efforts to accurately determine status. For example, William Wadeley, a Hereford apothecary and professional whose inventory was valued at just over £33, lived in an eighteen-roomed mansion, one of the largest houses in Hereford.[282] He was on the common council between 1698 and 1723 and, like his father before him, became mayor in 1705.[283] Thus, there are factors from Table 2.3 which raises the status of Wadeley to the higher middling ranks: professional status, house size and links to local government.

Status and local government in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury

Gaining a position in a town corporation enabled middling rank men to acquire status and influence. This was usually achieved by first becoming a churchwarden for a year; many

[281] These economic divisions between yeomen and husbandmen were suggested by Weatherill. Table 8.2, Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 184.
[282] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-3, William Wadeley, 1723.
[283] J. F. Morris, 'The Political Organization of Hereford', *Transactions of the Woolhope Club*, 45 (1987), 477-487, (p. 485).

townspeople, usually businessmen and shopkeepers, held this position. French argues that this was an important administrative post and was 'aspirational', as it denoted a responsible and upstanding individual.[284] Chalklin points to the fact that local government involved men from unequal wealth and income backgrounds. However, key positions often went to those from established families with high status.[285] Each of the three towns had different corporation structures and faced varying fortunes during the period examined. Table 2.7 examines the testators in the probate sample to indicate middling rank participation in local government; up to three generations of the same families are identified, suggesting a degree of nepotism was in operation.

Table 2.7 The number of testators or their family members that were churchwardens or held positions in local government in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1753

		Ludlow		**Hereford**		**Tewkesbury**	
Inventories		**n = 91**		**n = 146**		**n =51**	
	Churchwarden	9	9.89	1	0.68	0	0
	Position in Local gov.	4	4.39	6	4.10	6	11.76
Wills		**n = 106**		**n = 122**		**n= 59**	
	Churchwarden	2	1.88	0	0	3	5.08
	Position in local gov.	12	11.32	4	3.27	9	15.25

Not all the townsmen in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury viewed election to office as advantageous; those freemen that were elected frequently refused to serve and were fined. These individuals were often men of lower middling rank, or lesser tradesmen who could not afford to neglect their businesses. Curiously, Table 2.7 does not reflect the known difficulties Tewkesbury experienced in maintaining a Corporation; the very small sample shows a higher percentage of participation than Ludlow and Hereford. This may indicate a high turnover creating a corporation with little experience or competence, eventually contributing to a breakdown of governance.

[284] French, *The Middle Sort*, pp. 105-16.
[285] Christopher Chalklin, *The Rise of the English Town*, 1650-1850 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 58.

This section has considered inventory valuations and produced a methodology for determining rank. The following section categorises status groups and examines the trades and occupations found within them in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury.

The status groups in early modern Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury

This section adopts the research of Weatherill on the relationship between status and consumption. However, it is important to recognise that often in quantitative studies like those of Weatherill and Overton et al it can be difficult to separate the gentry from the higher middling rank. It appears that classification in both research projects is corrupted by the inclusion of lesser status individuals.[286] The overall methodology adopted in this thesis differs in using a numerically smaller, but wider selection, of probate documents. This allows for more detailed analysis from which a clearer picture can emerge, for example, considerable assets in wills, when matched against low-value inventories, might place the deceased in the gentry category. Equally, the friends and family of the testator were commonly from the same rank as themselves; therefore, establishing the executor of an inventory as say, a middling rank tradesman when the testator was an affluent shopkeeper would more accurately confirm the status of the deceased. Using inventory data, Weatherill was able to draw a number of conclusions about how different social and economic groups responded to new fashionable goods; this was called the consumption hierarchy. Table 2.8 was constructed from this research. The intention is to test the relationship between status and consumption in subsequent chapters, using the three-town samples to determine if the middling ranks in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury behaved in a similar way to the middling sorts in the Weatherill sample.

Table 2.8 The consumption hierarchy, formulated from the research of Weatherill[287]

Type of social	Composition	Type of goods	Ranking

[286] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 178; Overton and others, *Production*, p. 151. Wanklyn has noticed this ambiguity in the research of Weatherill'; he argues she included younger sons, members of the yeomanry and rich urban tradesmen in her tables that were not directly from the ranks of the gentry. *Inventories of the Worcestershire Landed Gentry, 1537-1786*, ed. by Malcolm Wanklyn (Worcester: Worcester Historical Society, 1998), p. xii.

[287] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, pp. 169-76.

group beginning with the highest status		**owned**	
Gentry	Varied Group	Not most valuable moveable goods	By virtue of family connection or position in community
Yeomen	Coherent Group	Owned less new and decorative goods	Status well recognised, often referred to as gentlemen
High Status Trades	Mercers/ drapers/ Professionals/ Clergy	Often owned more decorative goods than the gentry, Higher clock and book ownership.	Perception of prestige rather than accumulated wealth, Strong family links with the gentry.
Lesser Ranking tradesmen	Mainly Manufacturing Trades or Commercial Sector	Many expressive and decorative goods	More decorative goods than yeomen, status from accumulated wealth.
Widows/ spinsters	Residual Group	Varied	Could have come from any household.
Husbandmen/ Labourers	Large Mixed Group	Basic traditional goods	At the bottom of middling rank society.

Using examples from the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, these status groups are now examined in more detail to explain the varying amounts of prestige and wealth of early modern urban dwellers.

The gentry

This amorphous group stood second to the aristocracy in the hierarchy of early modern regional society. Wanklyn describes the landed gentry as being 'Not members of the peerage but associated with them in a rural upper class of rentiers (that is people whose principal source of income was derived indirectly from land via rents or tithes)'.[288] They frequently lived part of the year in townhouses. As a group they wielded political power; individually they might become Members of Parliament, or take an active interest in parish affairs. Men from this social group were likely to have family vaults, and expensive monuments or

[288] *Inventories of the Worcestershire Landed Gentry,* ed. by Wanklyn, p. xvii.

plaques in important local religious establishments, such as the parish church of St. Lawrence, Ludlow, Hereford Cathedral or Tewkesbury Abbey.[289]

The landed gentry in the sample of the three towns were the less wealthy associates of the land-owning upper classes, and were not members of the aristocracy. This status group mostly lived in the country all year round, did not play much of a role in national politics and were not courtiers. Lawrence Stone describes this class as 'parish gentry,' men with interests and power limited to the boundaries of one or two villages, educated at their local grammar school and rarely elevated to posts beyond that of Justice of the Peace.[290] This segment of society was also referred to as 'the squirearchy' by historians; the term is used to describe the untitled that owned 'substantial, but not great estates of land'.[291] French suggests that this segment of society were the 'parish rulers' and 'chief inhabitants', and were the unquestioned 'political agents and leaders'.[292]

Despite the traditionally dominant role of the gentry and their privileges and influence in localised provincial towns, their social and economic environment was changing. Earle argues that a number of factors made the early modern period a difficult time for the sons of gentlemen. Firstly, primogeniture became more common, leaving younger sons less likely to inherit estates. Secondly, there were more gentry families and more sons surviving into adulthood, and thirdly, older gentry estates had been hit by debts accumulated during the Civil War.[293] Many sons therefore needed a career, and some entered the mercantile or professional classes where there was a potential to acquire wealth.

In the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample of inventories and wills there were few titled members of the gentry, although there were individuals who were connected to the gentry by family and marriage. These individuals lived in larger, better furnished and more refined houses than most of the inhabitants in the three town sample. Many of the gentry had their wills proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Another factor that could define an

[289] In Ludlow, Alice Burrard bequeathed £50 for a stone monument to be erected in the church of St. Lawrence. In Tewkesbury, a doctor, had a plaque erected in Tewkesbury Abbey: London, The National Archives, (Ever after (TNA)), Will, PROB 11/473/34, pp.1-4, Alice Burrard, 1703; (GRO), Will, 1743/173, p.1, George Peyton, 1743.
[290] Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 6.
[291] B. A. Holderness, *Pre-Industrial England: Economy and Society from 1500-1750* (London: Dent, 1976), p. 32.
[292] French, *The Middle Sort*, pp. 203-4.
[293] Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, pp. 88-9.

individual as being a member of the lower gentry was for their name to be listed in Burke's Peerage, for example, Ralph Goodwyn, whose brother was Sir Thurston Smith.[294] Other high ranking members of the lower gentry were Blanch Lingen, a daughter of a knight in Hereford, and Charles Lloyd, a Ludlow baronet and a member of the Lloyd family of Maesyfelin.[295] Although baronet was the lowest hereditary title awarded and did not confer membership of the peerage, it was nevertheless important in local politics as it gave precedence in the social order, especially among Justices of the Peace. The will of Lloyd demonstrates the amount of land that a member of the gentry could own; he had three estates in Montgomeryshire and two houses in Cardiganshire. Despite this, Lloyd could not provide for all his sons; instead he educated them so that they could follow professions. His will stated: 'Lucius may either study physicke or divinity whether of the two he likes best: and Charles to study the laws of England…. to improve his fortune'.[296]

There were many gentry families living around Ludlow and Hereford. Those owning land in more than one diocese had their probates proved at Canterbury and their probate documents have been included in the Ludlow sample. The Lloyd family is an example of gentry residing in a town house for part of the year.[297] The patronage offered by the local gentry to a town greatly increased its desirability amongst those from the middling ranks. Mrs Lybbe Powis commentated on a Ludlow ball suggesting that the event was made 'tolerable, with two lords and six baronets'.[298]

The local elite of Ludlow included eminent families such as the Clives and the Herberts, and numerous other estate-owning members of the gentry, including those whose socially mobile ancestors had risen to achieve status through the law, or through commerce such as the iron industry.[299] Alongside the local gentry, Ludlow had significant numbers of the Welsh elite such as the Lloyds of Cardiganshire. Lloyd suggests that the local government was dominated

[294] John Amphelett and Mrs. Baldwyn-Childe, *The Kyre Park Charters* (Oxford: Worcestershire Historical Society, Parker and Co, 1905), p. 95. <http://archive.org/stream/kyreparkcharter00amphuoft#page/ns/mode2up> Accessed [14 August 2012]; John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland*, 5 vols (London: Colburn, 1836), V, p. 217.
[295] (HRO), Will, AA20, p.1, Blanch Lingen, 1712; (TNA), Will, PROB 11/598/28, pp.1-5, Sir Charles Lloyd, 1724. David Lloyd, 'Broad Street, Its Houses and Residents through Eight Centuries', *Ludlow Research Paper,* 3 (2001), 25.
[296] (TNA), PROB 11/598/28, Sir Charles Lloyd, 1724.
[297] Ludlow Easter Book, 1718. This is available from *The Ludlow Historical Society*.
[298] Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow*, p. 112.
[299]The Powells of Henley Hall were attorneys, but were descended from a tanner. The Knights of Downton became wealthy through the rural iron industry at Bringewood and the Powells of Stanage Park owed their fortune to their Tudor merchant adventurer ancestor. Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow*, p. 108.

by members of the gentry, providing aspiring self-styled gentlemen-tradesmen in the corporation greater opportunities to mingle with their social superiors.[300] In Hereford it was less common than in Ludlow for the local gentry to have townhouses. However, there were many nearby country estates belonging to families such as the Scudamores who, like others, were involved in charitable works in Hereford.[301] Sir John Scudamore bequeathed £400 in trust to anyone who would return woollen manufactory to the town, without interest. He also gave £10 a year to 'ten decayed tradesmen for their lives'. The Gloucestershire gentry were less connected with Tewkesbury due to its tempestuous history. Tewkesbury was run by its freemen, making it attractive to large numbers of unskilled labourers looking for work opportunities.[302] However, there were some country gentlemen associated with Tewkesbury, for example, William Ransford of Gubshill Manor.

It can be seen that, at gentry level at least, prestige and wealth were generally high with income coming from family estates. However, there was a new wave of landless people claiming to be gentlemen, and this has been partly attributed to the increase in urbanisation. In many provincial towns, the dearth of lower gentry allowed a rising social group to step into the void: those of the wealthier middling ranks with ambition. They are more the focus of this chapter because of their borderline status. Contemporaries would have referred to them as 'gentlemen', possibly drawing little distinction between them and the landed gentry. Wrightson maintains the main difference between wealthy townsmen and the gentry was that the townsmen were inferior to established land owning families.[303] Alan Everitt in the 1960s coined the term 'the pseudo-gentry' to describe these wealthy individuals. He claims they formed:

> A class of leisured and pre-dominantly urban families, who were commonly regarded as gentry, though they were not supported by a landed estate. Usually they lived in the larger or county towns, but one of their chief characteristics was their lack of any deep local roots. They were comprised of the younger sons of the country gentry, impoverished gentry, the sons or daughters of clerics, officers from the army and the heirs of lawyers, scriveners, or doctors.[304]

Wrightson disagrees with the term Everitt used. He argues that describing this group as 'the pseudo-gentry' was: 'Much too disparaging in its attribution of pretence and in its implication

[300] Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow*, pp. 104,122.
[301] John Price, *An Historical Account of the City of Hereford* (London: Longman, 1796), pp. 194-211.
[302] Jones, *Tewkesbury*, p. 84.
[303] Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London: Hutchinson, 1982), p. 27.
[304] Alan Everitt, 'Social Mobility in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 33 (1966), 56-73, (p. 71).

of uncritical social emulation'. Wrightson thought the term 'gentlemen-tradesmen' coined by Daniel Defoe was more appropriate.[305] Stone suggests that society had previously been divided between those seen as gentlemen, and those that were not. By the late seventeenth century this had become confused; numerous landless urban tradesmen who lacked classical education styled themselves as gentlemen. [306]

This ambiguity of status can be seen in early modern Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury. The term 'gentleman' was applied to affluent or respected members of the middling ranks, and those who frequently had connections to local government. W. Watkins-Pitchford in his analysis of the 1672 Shropshire Hearth Tax roll suggests that the prefix 'Mr' sometimes coincided with someone owning a substantial property with a large number of hearths, though some with humble dwellings could also be termed as such. Watkins-Pitchford concludes that these were propertied men or had some other social standing. The flexibility of titles can be seen in the 1667 Ludlow poll taxation; many men recognized as 'gentlemen' in hearth taxation schedules and probate documents dropped their title to save paying one pound extra.[307] The majority of the higher middling ranks in the three-town sample could be described as members of the 'pseudo-gentry'. However, French argues 'only a portion of the 'chief inhabitants' could get away with claiming to be gentlefolk'.[308]

In Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury, high status was claimed through inheritance, wealth, local government position, or gentry connections. Most of the established local families had lived in the towns for several generations. Their power and influence was mainly restricted to the towns they inhabited, with the exception of Ralph Goodwyn, who was involved in national politics.[309] Vickery defines the lower gentry as 'families headed by attorneys, doctors, clerics, merchants and manufacturers'. These people, who worked in respected and professional trades, were more likely to belong to the higher middling ranks or to be members of the pseudo-gentry. However, as Vickery argues, these people 'had blood and friendship' connections to 'the supreme county families', and to 'relatives struggling in lesser trades'.[310]

[305] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, p. 305.
[306] Stone and Stone, *An Open Elite?* p. 8.
[307] *The Shropshire Hearth-Tax Roll of 1672*, ed. by W. Watkins-Pitchford (Shrewsbury: Shropshire Archaeological and Parish Register Society, 1949), p. vii.
[308] French, *The Middle Sort*, p. 260.
[309] (TNA), Inventory, PROB 2/ 689, pp. 1-4, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663.
[310] Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale, 1998), pp. 13, 32.

Defining the status of esquires during the period is an issue in provincial towns. These individuals have been viewed as either the lowest rank of the gentry or aspiring members of the middling ranks. In the Ludlow sample there are three esquires and two esquires' widows.[311] In Hereford there were two esquires, with none in the Tewkesbury sample.[312] Stone did not believe that esquires were titled members of the gentry. He argues that the title 'squire' came into use in the late seventeenth century to imply a new social division of those that had a 'substantial landed estate and a country seat,' but that this term was abused and adopted by landless, well-connected court bureaucrats, such as Samuel Pepys. Nevertheless, Earle maintains that the 'esquire' and 'gentleman' labels were not as 'trivial as Stone would have us believe'.[313] It is likely that a number of the urban esquires were members of the gentry or belonged to the ranks of the pseudo-gentry. Ralph Goodwyn of Ludlow, an esquire, was a court clerk and a professional; his inventory from 1663 was valued at £1966.03.00. He was a wealthy bureaucrat, an intellectual and the longest serving deputy secretary for the Council of the Marches.[314] With family and marriage connections to the gentry, Goodwyn lived accordingly with estates and leases.[315] As can be seen from the items listed in his inventory, the bulk of his wealth was not in moveable goods:

£1,000 in ready money and good debts,

£700 in desperate debts,

£25 in leases,

£30.08.00 in horses, sheep, cows and pigs,

£10 of silver,

£20 of rings, jewels and foreign coins.

The actual contents of his two properties were valued at £180.15.00. The amount of movables

[311] (TNA), PROB 2/689, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663; (HRO), Will, AA20, p.1, Thomas Freeman, 1672; (TNA), Will, PROB 11/540/343, p.1, Littleton Powell, 1713; (TNA), PROB 11/473/34, Alice Burrard, 1703; (HRO), Will, AA20, p.1, Alice Dawes, 1722.
[312] (HRO), AA20, Jonah Taylor, 1723; (HRO), Will, AA20, pp.1-2, Humphrey Thomas, 1732.
[313] Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, p. 87.
[314] John Aubrey mentioned him in his book of seventeenth and eighteenth-century eminent people, claiming Goodwyn was 'a general scholar', with 'a delicate witt', who was also 'a great historian and poet'. Goodwyn wrote a 'pastorall' that was acted in 1637 in Ludlow called 'The Journey into France'; he was known to read great works by Thuanus or Tacitus. John Aubrey, *Letters Written by Eminent persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1813), II, 2, p. 360.
[315] (TNA), PROB 2/689, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663; Goodwyn was married twice. His first wife, Dorothy was the daughter of Sir Walter Long, High Sheriff of Wiltshire. She was born circa 1602, and married around 1625. In 1630 Goodwyn settled his property in Much Cowarne, Herefordshire on his wife as jointure. However, she died around 1644/5 and he remarried in 1646. This was to Elizabeth Brabazon, daughter of the Honourable Wallop Brabazon of Eaton Grange, Herefordshire. Elizabeth survived Goodwyn and was his executrix. *The Kyre Park Charters* (Oxford: Worcestershire Historical Society, Parker and Co, 1905), p. 95. <http://archive.org/stream/kyreparkcharter00amphuoft#page/ns/mode2up> Accessed [14 August 2012]

that Goodwyn owned was more on a par with higher middling inventories, but he also owned unusual objects that implied his education and connections. The inventory of Goodwyn was one of the few documents that recorded shelves of books, thus reflecting his love of reading and knowledge.

The wealthy Jonah Taylor, a Hereford esquire, illustrates the difficulties of defining status. His 1723 inventory was valued at £1132.16.11. Taylor was either an exceptionally wealthy member of the higher middling classes, or belonged to the ranks of the lower gentry. The bulk of his wealth, which was in debts and mortgages was assessed at £900.12.00. He was owed £70.16.04 in arrears of rent and possessed £102.05.07 in cash. His affluence and property implied gentry status, but his position as an alderman, combined with ownership of a warehouse and the status of his son-in-law (a bookseller), suggests middling trade connections. His substantial property in and around Hereford was more in keeping with the traditional role of a gentleman, as were his charitable bequests to two of the alms-houses.[316] French maintains that these prominent residents had little influence outside their parochial pecking order.[317] Nevertheless, the possessions of these wealthy individuals provide an insight into the types of commodities owned by this social group, and will be explored in the next chapter. They sought to maintain their prestige and wealth not through land, but mainly through professions, property, trade and civic appointments. The next group were more traditional.

The yeomanry

A number of individuals were described as yeomen in the probate sample. Although most yeomen lived and farmed in the countryside, several lived in the suburbs at a time when the outskirts of the three towns still contained numerous farms and orchards. Wrightson states that although the term yeoman was of obscure origin it usually suggested a freeholder who possessed land to the value of 40 shillings. These men were respected as they 'occupied a lower position in the same hierarchy of rural society, which was headed by rural gentlemen'.[318] By the early modern period many yeomen were involved in market gardening providing livestock and produce to the towns. Their position in society stemmed from their

[316] (HRO), AA20, Jonah Taylor, 1723.
[317] French, *The Middle Sort*, p. 28.
[318] Wrightson, *English Society*, p. 27, 31.

ancient lineage and acreage, as 'land was the most secure form of investment'.[319] However, Weatherill maintains that these wealthy farmers were being increasingly left behind as they were not embracing the new fashionable way of living with its escalating materialism.[320]

Weatherill used an economic division of estates valued in excess of £60 to distinguish between yeomen and their poorer counterparts, the husbandmen.[321] The low value of movables in the sample suggests, as Estabrook illustrates, that wealthy yeomen did not always subscribe to the urban pressures of using luxury items as social capital; they preferred to invest surplus income in livestock and land, since status was tied to land.[322] Two men in the Hereford sample of inventories were recorded as farmers in 1672-3 even though Overton maintains that this term did not become an occupational label until the early eighteenth century.[323] Husbandmen were small farmers, below yeomen but above labourers, working their own rented or freehold land rather than for others. Unlike yeoman, who hired workers, they depended on family labour. Nevertheless, many husbandmen successfully supported their families and produced a modest surplus.[324]

The farming section of society in the three towns was analysed using Table 2.3. In the Ludlow inventory sample, ten yeomen were recorded. However, nine of these had low value inventories, relegating them to husbandmen status. The only wealthy yeoman did not appear to work in agriculture, being involved in the production and retailing of earthenware.[325] In the Hereford sample, there were two affluent yeomen and two farmers whose inventory values suggest they were husbandmen.[326] Only one person was described as a husbandman.[327] In the Tewkesbury sample, five men were described as yeomen, but only two of these were wealthy.[328] The goods of the other two were of low value at £3 and £1.06.00, and again, only

[319] Mark Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 37.
[320] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 171.
[321] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, Table 8.2, p. 184.
[322] Carl B. Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 128-9.
[323] Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England*, p. 36.
[324] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, p. 34.
[325] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-3, Richard Plummer, 1692.
[326] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Thomas Bullock, 1713; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-3, John Price of Hunderton, 1733; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1-2, Edward Bowen, 1672; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, Peter Corbett, 1673.
[327] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, John Williams, 1692.
[328] Abraham Griffin, 1663. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories, 1601-1700*, ed. by Bill Rennison and Cameron Talbot (Tewkesbury: Tewkesbury Historical Society, 1996), pp. 126-8; (GRO), Inventory, 1703/51, pp.1-2, Richard Mansel, 1703.

one man was recorded as a husbandman.[329] In a number of instances, husbandmen had subsidiary occupations, suggesting that farming was not providing enough income. The results overall suggest that the title of yeoman was sometimes claimed in order to gain status.

The research of Weatherill can illustrate the complexities of eighteenth-century status. Samuel Oakley of Ludlow in 1712 was described as a gentleman in his inventory, but described himself as a yeoman in his will. His moveable goods were assessed at a humble £17.18.00. The house was not completely lacking in comfort as it had a best room, and a parlour with window curtains and a mirror.[330] Unfortunately his inventory did not include items associated with his trade: land, leases, crops or cattle. By the definition of Weatherill, the modest monetary value of the inventory puts Oakley into the category of a husbandman. Nesta Evans suggests such a lack of agricultural equipment in inventories and wills could imply retirement, although as David Marcombe argues, the term yeoman was often a description of status rather than occupation; an additional trade may have been followed. [331]

Richard Plummer of Ludlow is an example of a yeoman who did not appear to have been involved in agriculture; he was a chandler and a maker and seller of earthenware.[332] Berg claims that it was common for earthenware entrepreneurs to be drawn from the local yeoman community, because many of them had the land and the capital to venture into new enterprises.[333] The probate documents were proved in 1692, and his inventory was valued at £417.13.08.[334] He had leases for three houses and an inn, and it is possible that the inn was the building with four hearths recorded in the 1672 Poll Tax in the Galdeford ward, which was not an exclusive address. The chandlery warehouse and shop was in the Bullring: the retailing centre of town. Like many yeomen, the bulk of his wealth was in his stock as his household goods were assessed at a mediocre £47.10.00. It was his wealth that made him of higher middling rank status according to Table 2.3. Other factors such as involvement in unrefined trades, property in less desirable areas of town and the leasehold nature of his properties all suggest intermediate status. However, the status of Plummer as a yeoman gave

[329] (GRO), Inventory, 1733/21, p.1, John Tomkins, 1733; (GRO), Inventory, 1752/37, p.1, Matthew Keyes, 1752; (GRO), Inventory, 1698/31, p.1, Thomas Charnoke, 1692.
[330] (HRO), Inventory, Will, AA20, p. 1-2, Samuel Oakley, 1724.
[331] Nesta Evans, 'The Occupations and Status of Male Testators in Cambridgeshire, 1551-1800', in *When Death Do Us Part*, ed. by Arkell and others, pp. 176-88, (pp. 180-1); D. Marcombe, *English Small Town Life* (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 1993), p. 95.
[332] Marcombe, *English Small Town*, p. 95.
[333] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, p. 129.
[334] (HRO), AA20, Richard Plummer, 1692.

him local social standing. Clearly the definition of yeoman status, like that of the gentry, was evolving throughout this period, but the hallmark was tradition and stability, whereas the next group were in the vanguard of change.

Higher trades and professionals

The newly emergent social groups of professionals, retailers and service providers used the ownership of new and fashionable goods to project their wealth and status. There was a hierarchy of occupations, and Robert Campbell described their status and merits in his 1747 book, *The London Tradesman,* a guide to parents thinking of setting their children to a trade. Although it remains one of the few sources that provide a comprehensive guide to early modern occupations, as a city directory it excludes the rural status divisions which remained such an essential part of middling rank society in provincial towns. Campbell described divinity, law and medicine as the 'learned professions'. Beneath these were refined trades which produced or sold cultural, intellectual or fashionable objects for the luxury end of the market. Traders and retailers who dealt in these desirable objects included booksellers, goldsmiths, jewellers and china retailers, but also engravers, gilders and sculptors.[335] Those with ambitions to enter such lucrative trades required considerable capital, usually provided by the family, to pay for long apprenticeships and to set up as masters.[336]

The hierarchy of trades suggested by Campbell was reflected in the social composition of the three towns. In the Ludlow probate sample representing professionals were a Member of Parliament, an attorney, two apothecaries, a parish clerk and a rector.[337] In retailing there were two mercers, a bookseller, and a tobacconist.[338] Hereford was well supplied with specialised shops; the inventory sample identifies the medicinal nature of some of the premises with two apothecaries, and a barber-surgeon.[339] Quality shops and services were also beginning to emerge as three mercers, the wife of a book retailer, a grocer, and a

[335] Robert Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London: T Gardiner, 1747), pp. 84, 24-143
[336] Campbell, *The London Tradesman,* pp. 331-40.
[337] (TNA), PROB 2/689, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663; (TNA), Will, PROB 11/720/408, pp. 1-4, Edward Baughe, 1742; (TNA), Will, PROB 11/372/183, pp. 1-4, Edward Davies, 1682; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Richard Davies, 1683; (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, Robert Reynolds, 1662; (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, Brian Cole, 1752.
[338] (HRO), Will, AA20, p.1, William Reynolds, 1662; (TNA), Will, PROB 11/420/359, pp.1-3, George Houghton, 1682; (TNA), Will, PROB 11/727/465, pp. 1-5, William Jones, 1743; (TNA), Will, PROB 11/730/205, pp. 1-3, Rowland Wynne, 1743.
[339] (HRO), Will AA20, pp. 1-2, Richard Symonds, 1712; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-3, William Wadeley, 1723; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, John Smith, 1723.

tobacconist were recorded.[340] The church and writing professions were represented with a college clerk, a schoolmaster, a servant to the pastor and a sexton.[341] In Tewkesbury, as in Hereford, there were fewer professionals. However, high status trades were represented with three mercers, a goldsmith and a tobacconist as well as an apothecary.[342] One of the mercers, Philip Heyward, illustrates how men were able to adapt to their changing environment. Heyward was from a yeoman family which had developed interests in retailing luxury textiles.[343] Like aspiring tradesmen in other towns, Heyward played a prominent role in local government.[344]

William Wadeley, the previously mentioned apothecary would, according to Campbell, be placed at the lower end of the professional class, but Campbell questioned the merits of this occupation, accusing apothecaries of overcharging.[345] However J. G. Burnby argues that the trade required culture and multidisciplinary skills due to new medical specializations. He argues apothecaries were placed in the category of medical practitioners, which made them interesting hybrids: professionals who usually also traded from shops.[346] This association with trade together with the practical nature of the training for such an occupation makes it debatable as to whether apothecaries were regarded as professionals or skilled medical artisans.

Like many higher tradesmen, Wadeley also owned a large quantity of furniture and some decorative items such as a looking glass, window curtains, a parcel of small pictures and a 'landskip over the chimney', but the value of his possessions was low. His house was rather old fashioned at the time of his death with a quantity of out-dated turkey work chairs and

[340] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-3, John Davies, 1672; (HRO), Inventory, pp. 1-8, AA20 Samuel Morse, 1722; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Robert Morris, 1733; (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-3, James Lord, 1743; (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-4, Elizabeth Hunt, 1723; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Samuel Graham, 1742.
[341] (HRO), AA20, pp. 1-2, John Broad, 1702; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, William Freeman, 1673; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, William Turner, 1733; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp.1-2, Charles Jennings, 1743.
[342] John Allen, 1692. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 242-3; John Millington, 1692; John Reekes, 1692, *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 202-3, 249-50; (GRO), Inventory, 1713/159, p. 1, John Moore, 1713; (GRO), Inventory, 1733/147, p. 1, Samuel Jefferies, 1733.
[343] Bill Camp, 'A Review of Trade Tokens up to and including the Seventeenth Century', *The Tewkesbury Historical Society*, 4 (1995), 25-30, (p. 31).
[344] He was elected as overseer in 1653, constable in 1654, and assistant councilor in 1675. Camp, 'The Tewkesbury Token Issuers, (1649-72)', *The Tewkesbury Historical Society*, 10 (2001), 52-55, (p. 54).
[345] Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, pp. 64-6.
[346] J. G. Burnby, 'A Study of the English Apothecary from 1660 to 1760,' *Medical History Supplement*, 3 (1983), pp. 1-2, (pp.1-2).

stools. His probate provides a useful insight into the types of domestic goods that a professional or successful artisan could own. Though not possessing the newest or most fashionable commodities, he was aware of the importance of expressive goods as markers of social status.

The high status professionals and tradesmen had ambition and opportunity, most of which was urban in scope. Like the pseudo-gentry, they built their wealth on earned income rather than inherited wealth, and like those in the intermediate trades, they were aware of the prestige of expressive goods.

Intermediate trades

Wealth and success were the main determining factors between intermediate and lower status. Weatherill suggests that the intermediate status included those from 'prosperous manufacturing trades such as clothiers, and those in the commercial sector, being shopkeepers and innholders'. She also states: 'dealers had greater prestige than craftsmen or yeomen, and they had greater resources'. This section of society included comfortable shopkeepers and better off craftsmen. Weatherill claims that 'a large number of consumers were found within these intermediate trades'.[347] However, social commentators' opinion remained harsh: Samuel Johnson claimed the society of tradesmen and merchants only had the 'fine varnish of low politeness'.[348]

In the three towns the majority of tradesmen operated shops and were from a variety of social backgrounds. The inventory sample also suggests that there were substantial variations in wealth amongst individuals who worked in the same trades. Both intermediate and lower middling ranks produced, sold or provided everyday goods and services. Frequently the line between retailing and manufacturing was blurred as shops could also be workshops. The materials used were not rare or expensive, and the occupations frequently involved working in hot, dirty or unpleasant conditions, for example tanning or fulling.

The majority of shopkeepers were men. Trades in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury included butchers, saddlers, chandlers, haberdashers, tin plate workers, and earthenware

[347] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, pp. 178-9.
[348]This was the opinion of Samuel Johnson of a literary character: see R. H. Sweet, 'Topographies of Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), 355-374, (p. 364).

sellers, as well as small-scale manufacturers like nailers, braziers, collarmakers and shoemakers. Inventory evidence suggests that butchers usually had low-value inventories because meat, their stock-in-trade, was not easily preserved. This could result in them mistakenly being placed in a lower status group. The status of butchers varied; in Ludlow there were none on the town council, but in Hereford, where mayors were more frequently from a trading background, at least two butchers held office in the early eighteenth century.[349] The Tewkesbury sources do not list occupations.

One of the defining divides between the higher middling ranks and those below was whether wives and daughters were directly involved in the family business. Such criteria were less important amongst wealthy tradesmen in the seventeenth century, but by the eighteenth century affluent men were separating their wives and daughters from the world of work.[350] In the three towns a number of innholders, who ran shops in part of their premises or worked in another trade during the day, might have required assistance from wives and/or daughters. Occasionally, wives ran their own businesses independent of their husbands. Examples of these can be seen in the wife of a carpenter who ran a linen shop and the wife who worked in the millinery trade.[351]

John Higgins, a Tewkesbury Maltster, is an example of a wealthy middling rank man who worked in an intermediate trade. Higgins probate documents were proved in 1662 and the total value of his inventory was £395.05.00; this was the highest valued inventory in seventeenth-century Tewkesbury. Higgins was the eldest son and became a freeman in 1647.[352] Although he was a Maltster he was also an entrepreneur, owning the village inn at Oxenton and three tenements. As an entrepreneur, Higgins held much of his wealth in 'money and debts' which came to £250. He lived luxuriously compared with many others residing in the most desirable street in Tewkesbury; his house had six hearths and at least six rooms. Higgins owned a clock, a map, numbers of tables and chairs, pots and pans, and quantities of linen and soft furnishings.[353] His inventory had the highest value of those which survived from the period. Around 1640, Higgins married Elizabeth Smithsend from a wealthy

[349] In 1720, Thomas Smith and in 1731, Thomas Williams: see Morris, 'The Political Organization of Hereford', p. 486.
[350] Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes,* p. 19; John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle Class Home in Victorian England* (Bury St. Edmunds: St. Edmundsbury, 1999), pp. 1-10.
[351] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, William Fisher, 1692; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, John Cooke, 1723.
[352] N. Day, *They Used to Live in Tewkesbury* (Stroud: Sutton, 1991), p. 141.
[353] John Higgins, 1662. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories,* ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 118-20.

and respectable Tewkesbury family; they had no children. They both died aged forty-seven, with his wife surviving him for three years.[354] Forty-seven was not old, especially amongst affluent members of society. Many of the Tewkesbury testators in the sample died in their fifties and sixties, and some survived into their seventies. The Higgins' early demise reflects the randomness of life and possibly a limited medical knowledge in early modern provincial towns. Higgins was unusually wealthy for an intermediate tradesman as this group mainly chose to exhibit their wealth through consumables, rather than property, and like lesser tradesmen, often continued to combine home and work.

Lesser tradesmen

The lower trades were mainly small-scale enterprises engaged in localised manufacture and retailing; these usually involved between two and five people in or near their homes. Lesser ranking tradesmen, or the lower middling ranks, came from a mixture of backgrounds. Socially, they had little association with the ranks above them, although some had trading connections with the higher middling ranks. Numerically, this group represented a substantial proportion of the population of most towns. John suggests that the earnings of many small-scale shopkeepers and artisans were more than sufficient to provide for their families; ~~s~~surplus income was often used to employ others.[355] These individuals were the more modestly successful shopkeepers and small-scale producers dealing in mundane goods. Examples of these tradesmen would be shoemakers, chandlers, and weavers as well as stocking makers, basket makers and glovers. Although occupation of six or fewer rooms in a house has been used as a method to separate higher middling ranks from lower middling ranks (see Table 2:3), the evidence of the inventory sample indicates that a number of lesser tradesmen had seven or more rooms.[356] However, this might include their shop and garrets, and sometimes other working areas.

Many of the testators in the three town sample were intermediate and lower middling rank shopkeepers, but there is less evidence for the construction industry. Although trades such as masons, tilers, glaziers, joiners and carpenters were represented, the monetary value of these inventories was generally low. Occasionally, however, their materials were recorded. John Moody, for example, was a Hereford carpenter who owned a timber yard with lengths of

[354] Elizabeth Higgins, 1665, *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 142-3.
[355] John, 'At Home with the London Middling Sort', p. 27.
[356] Using rooms as an index of wealth does lead to methodological problems with inventory data. If there was nothing of moveable worth in a room, appraisers omitted it. Arkell, 'Interpreting Probate Inventories', in *When Death Do Us Part*, ed. by Arkell and others, pp. 72-102, pp. 85-8.

wood and other construction supplies. These goods were valued at £10.18.00 in 1722 in an inventory assessed at only £19.00.06.[357]

Tobias Needham the elder typifies a lesser tradesman who operated a shop; he was a hosier, a member of the staple, but poorly paid, Tewkesbury trade.[358] He did not benefit from the mechanization that the stocking trade was to witness around the middle of the eighteenth century.[359] The total value of his 1712 inventory was £55.02.09.[360] He may have sold yarn to other stocking manufacturers, or paid out-workers to complete goods because his shop contained various types of yarn valued at £20.08.00. Finished stockings were valued at £5, but there was little variation in his stock with just worsted and woollen items listed. Needham was also a manufacturer, as he owned two looms, a twisting mill, a warping bar and other utensils. His household goods were valued at a modest £9.04.03: a low valuation even by the standards of Tewkesbury (see Table 2.11). This meagre lifestyle is a good example of that experienced by many of the lower middling ranks. There was little incentive to buy domestic consumables when set against the prudent need to invest in stock-in-trade. In the case of Needham, who was a widower with four children, such thrift enabled him to support his family and reward his children with legacies. One son was left nothing; the daughters were to be paid ten pounds each, whilst his other son was to be executor and receive the rest of his goods. As can be seen, lesser tradesmen could earn sufficient to keep their families, but invested surplus income in their trades rather than consumables. The main difference between this group and the others was that their smaller operations offered less protection against misfortune and poverty.

This chapter, in examining prestige and wealth in the three-town sample, has mainly considered professions and trades relating principally to men. A different set of criteria is needed to investigate female status.

Marital status: the impact on social status

The rank and status of men may often be judged without the need to consider their marital status, but the same cannot be said of women, for whom it was more likely to determine

[357] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, John Moody, 1722.
[358] Kathleen Ross, *The Book of Tewkesbury* (Buckingham: Barracuda, 1986), p. 43.
[359] Campbell described the machinery as a new invention in 1747, but this was in London; mechanization would have taken longer to reach the provinces. Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, p. 214.
[360] (GRO), Inventory, 1712/515, pp. 1-2, Tobias Needham, 1712.

prosperity and social status. This was especially so for widows and spinsters as their lowly position on the hierarchy of consumption table shows (Table 2.8); its impact must be examined in order to understand the cultures of consumption in this period. Single men are also considered as they too could be compromised by polite society.

Women of the three towns owned property and had formal occupations, but this is rarely illustrated by the sample. Early-modern women generally are problematic to study because they are usually recorded by their marital status rather than their occupation. Furthermore, as can be seen in Tables 2.1 and 2.2, married women are not fully represented in probate documents because their goods, even when acquired independently, could revert to their husbands under the law of coverture.[361] Direct comparison between male and female probate documents can be misleading because inventories might include trade goods, which women were less likely to have. Additionally, as real estate was often handed on through the male line widows could be left dependant on sons for a home.

The research of Peter Laslett demonstrates that the majority of households were headed by married couples; more widows than spinsters ran their own homes and there were few single male households.[362] Although the time scale is different, the scope and comprehensive detail of this research provides both a useful comparison and a suitable platform from which to examine the composition of households in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, as seen in Table 2.9.

Table 2.9 The marital status of heads of households in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury inventory sample, 1662-1753, compared with the research of Peter Laslett

Marital Status	**Ludlow**		**Hereford**		**Tewkesbury**		**The Research of Peter Laslett 1547-1821**[363]
	n = 91	%	n = 146	%	n = 51	%	%
Married Couples	55	60.43%	86	58.90%	23	45.09%	70.4

[361] Margot Finn, 'Women, Consumption and Coverture in England, c. 1760-1860', *The Historical Journal*, 39, 3 (1996), 703-722, (p. 704-7).
[362] Peter Laslett, *Household and Family in Pastime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 145.
[363] This data is taken from Table 4.9 and the percentages are means of proportions. Laslett, *Household and Family*, p. 145.

Widowers	6	6.59	11	7.53	10	19.60	5.2
Widows	13	14.28	21	14.38	6	11.76	12.9
Bachelors	9	9.89	11	7.53	9	17.64	2.1
Spinsters	8	8.79	17	11.64	3	5.88	1.1
Unspecified Males	0	0	0	0	0	0	5.0[364]
Unspecified Females	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.3

The inventory sample shows fewer married couples heading households than the research of Laslett, with the lowest proportion in Tewkesbury and the highest in Ludlow. There also appeared to be higher percentages of single women as heads of households with 23.61% in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample compared with 13.10% in the Laslett results. It is possible some of these individuals may not have been true heads of households but rather lodgers, or from incomplete households. Those of lower rank may have been drawn to the area because all three centres offered low-paid work in glove-making or service industries. Such rank is implied by the low monetary value of their basic possessions and their family and social connections. Low value movables could be the result of a downturn in their economic circumstances.

Ludlow and Hereford catered for the wealthy and the gentry and were known as places of retirement and leisure, especially for single women. Wright, Vickery and Froide have suggested that the leisure function of Ludlow provided a reason for single women to settle in the town, although Table 2.9 indicates that the instances of female widow and spinster heads of households recorded in Hereford and Tewkesbury were similar or even higher than that of Ludlow.[365] Overall however, it is possible to conclude that genteel people living in reduced circumstances were attracted to these towns as less expensive options to popular regional towns such as Shrewsbury or Gloucester. It is useful to compare total inventory valuations between men and women in the following Table 2.10.

Table 2.10 Male and female inventory total valuations from the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1753

[364]Table 2:9 uses qualitative methods to determine the marital status of householders, who were all identified; therefore, there are no unspecified males or females as in the research of Laslett.

[365] S. J. Wright, 'Sojourners and Lodgers in a Provincial Town: the Evidence from Eighteenth-Century Ludlow', Midland History, 14 (1990), 14-35, (p. 26): cited in *Behind Closed Doors,* p. 211; Wright, 'Holding up Half the Sky: Women and their Occupations in Eighteenth-Century Ludlow', *Midland History,* 14 (1989), 53-74, (p. 56-7) cited in Froide, *Never Married,* p. 115.

	Ludlow		**Hereford**		**Tewkesbury**	
Male Values in £	No.= 69	%	No. =107	%	No. = 40	%
5 or below	2	2.89	28	26.16	3	7.50
10 or below	7	10.14	7	6.54	3	7.50
20 or below	17	24.63	25	23.36	10	25.00
50 or below	18	26.08	17	15.88	7	17.50
100 or below	6	8.69	7	6.54	9	22.50
Over 101	19	27.53	23	21.49	8	20.00
Female Values in £	No.= 22	%	No. =39	%	No. = 11	%
5 or below	4	18.18	0	0	1	9.09
10 or below	2	9.09	7	17.94	0	0
20 or below	9	40.90	11	28.20	2	18.18
50 or below	3	13.63	7	17.94	2	18.18
100 or below	1	4.54	5	12.82	4	36.36
Over 101	3	13.63	9	23.07	2	18.18

The majority of men and women in Table 2.10 had all their movables assessed at £50 or below. In Ludlow 63.77% of men and 81.81% of women were in this category; in Hereford the figures were 71.96% for men and 64.10% for women. The small Tewkesbury sample had different results: 57.50% of men had movables under £50 compared with 45.45% of women; this demonstrates that the small Tewkesbury sample had slightly more wealthier women. In most instances the middling ranks in the sample did not have larger amounts of movables or leases. There were fewer surviving inventories for women than for men with most coming from the lower range of valuations. The women in Table 2.10 would probably therefore have been mainly widows or unmarried female relatives of lesser tradesmen, or those for whom husbands or families had made inadequate provision: something which will be discussed. As the status of women cannot always be assessed on the value of their household goods because they rarely owned trade goods or property, the next Table (2.11) excludes these items, as well as leases, silver, money, good and bad debts, livestock and crops, to obtain a more accurate valuation of household goods. The men in Table 2.10 with over £101 of movables; 27.53% in Ludlow and 21.49% in Hereford had large amounts of trade goods. The inventory valuations

in this study mainly refer to total valuations; this is due to the fact that although most women did not own or operate businesses, some did. In addition, to exclude male trade goods and leases would limit the amount of information that is known about individuals at a time when there was not a clear division between public and private spaces within the household. The division of household rooms is examined in detail in Chapters 3 and 4.

Table 2.11 The value of male and female testators' household goods in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1753

	Ludlow		**Hereford**		**Tewkesbury**	
Male domestic goods in £	No.= 69	%	No. =107	%	No. = 40	%
0	1	1.44	0	0	1	2.5
5 or below	11	15.94	22	20.56	6	15
10 or below	9	13.04	23	21.49	8	20
20 or below	17	24.63	21	19.62	11	27.50

50 or below	22	31.88	21	19.62	7	17.5
100 or below	1	1.44	11	10.28	5	12
Over 101	2	2.89	9	8.41	2	5
Only trade goods	1	1.44	0	0	0	0
Female domestic goods in £	No.= 22	%	No. =39	%	No. = 11	%
0	1	4.54	2	5.12	2	18.18
5 or below	8	36.36	6	15.38	1	9.09
10 or below	7	31.81	7	2.56	1	9.09
20 or below	5	22.72	10	25.64	5	45.45
50 or below	0	0	8	12.82	0	0
100 or below	1	4.54	4	10.25	2	18.18
Over 101	0	0	2	5.12	0	0
Only trade goods	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 2.11 indicates that wealth for most individuals was not invested in household goods, with the exception of innholders, who used them for commercial purposes. At almost every level the value of the goods belonging to men exceeded those of women. As already mentioned, this is partly due to the inclusion of trade goods, seen in Table 2.10, and partly due to a dearth of married women in the sample and the reduced circumstances of female testators, something which will be assessed. Domestic items appropriate to family life often appear in male household goods, suggesting that few men remained single throughout their lives. However, some men in the sample do appear to have been bachelors or widowers.

Bachelors and Widowers

Wills often provide the key to the marital state of an individual. Bachelors were likely to bequeath goods to siblings and parents in the absence of acknowledged children or grandchildren; goods and money were frequently given to nephews and nieces. Society expected that once established most men would marry. Bachelors came from a variety of backgrounds and economic circumstances, so it cannot be argued that these men were too poor to support a wife. Youth could explain why some men did not marry. Francis Clent, a Ludlow haberdasher died at the age of twenty-one; he was the son of an innholder and his shop operated from within the inn. However, a number of bachelors appeared to be at least middle aged, as their siblings had established families. Men were not usually defined by their

marital status in this sample, with the exception of Thomas Hunt who was recorded as a widower in his administration and a corviser in his inventory.[366]

Recent research suggests that even single men, though not subject to the same financial constraints as women, also found the need to 'construct forms of domesticity that permitted interaction with polite society'.[367] The majority of men were married, but even without a wife the assistance of servants made it possible for a man to run his own household. Thomas Hackluit, a wealthy Ludlow captain, had a well-furnished house with at least two lodgers.[368] His maid was rewarded for her long service after his death with £20 and all his household goods consisting of over thirty items.[369] Other single men relied on friends and neighbours for assistance. For example, James Lovell gave to Charles Watkins and his wife five acres of arable land in the suburbs of Hereford for 'their many kindnesses ….in sickness as in health for several years'.[370] Both examples suggest that these two men had learned to negotiate the difficult social position of the single man: one by employing a trusted servant, the other by cultivating a close friendship, both of which sustained their position in society.

The relationship between the marital status of women and the ownership of material goods

During the early modern period there were few truly independent women, as decisions about whether to remain single were constrained by family pressure and future financial security. For most, therefore, marriage was the optimum way of maintaining, if not improving, rank and status, at least until widowhood. Those that lived in towns had greater opportunities and freedoms. Berg, in analysing wills from the urban centres of Birmingham and Sheffield between 1700 and 1800, concludes that they showed evidence of a female subculture. She states that 'women to a far higher degree than men noticed their possessions, attached value and emotional significance to these and integrated them into the web of their familial and

[366] (HRO), Administration, Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-3, Thomas Hunt, 1672.
[367] David Hussey and Margaret Ponsonby, *The Single Homemaker and Material Culture in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 4.
[368] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Thomas Hackluit, 1663.
[369] (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, Thomas Hackluit, 1663.
[370] (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, James Lovell, 1683.

community relationships'.[371] Amy M. Froide maintains that 'it is easy to forget the significance a women's married state once held over every aspect of her life', whilst Amy Louise Erickson states that 'it is difficult to ascertain how women behaved and responded to their legal disabilities'.[372] The lack of information on married women in probate documents is evident in Table 2.12.

Table 2.12 The marital status of women in the probate documents from the three towns, 1662-1753

		Widows		**Spinsters**		**Married**	
Ludlow	Total No. of women	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Inventory	22	13	59.09	8	36.36	1	4.54
Will	26	16	61.53	9	34.61	1	3.84
Hereford							
Inventory	39	21	53.84	17	43.58	1	2.56
Will	50	27	54	22	44	1	2
Tewkesbury							
Inventory	11	7	63.63	3	27.27	1	9.09
Will	22	15	68.18	5	22.72	2	9.09

The majority of women who left probate documents were widows, but this is a distortion created by the absence of married women in these records, a consequence of the law of coverture previously mentioned. It may be due to the number of widows who were heads of households (see Table 2.9). The percentages of widows and spinsters in the Hereford and Tewkesbury samples were slightly more or similar to the female heads of households percentages in Ludlow. The next table (2.13) considers sources of income for the women using the evidence of inventories and wills from the three-town sample.

Table 2.13 Female testators' money and property in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury will sample, 1662-1753

	Ludlow 26 wills		**Hereford** 50 wills		**Tewkesbury** 22 wills	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%

[371] Maxine Berg, 'Women's Consumption and the Industrial Classes of Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Social History*, 30, 2 (1996), 415-434, (p. 429).
[372] Amy M. Froide, *Never Married: Single Women in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 1; Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 223.

Bonds, interest Or money	11	42.30	16	32	4	18.18
Money lending	3	11.53	3	6	0	0
Property	3	11.53	7	14	8	36.36
Shopkeepers	4	15.38	3	6	2	9.09
Shopkeepers with Property	0	0	2	4	2	9.09
Property and money	3	11.53	8	16	2	9.09
Innholders	0	0	1	2	1	4.54
Other	2	7.69	10	20	4	18.18

Table 2.13 illustrates that over 40% of Ludlow women in the (very small) sample had bonds or annuities, whilst numerically more Tewkesbury women owned property alone, and more Hereford women owned bonds, property and money combined. These sources of wealth all conveyed higher status to their owners because they were unearned, thus suggesting that a number of higher middling rank women inhabited these towns. However, there was much variation between the categories; ownership of money and property ranged from the lease of a house and an annuity from a brother to substantial wealth and property.[373]

At the other extreme, the exclusion of working women from the guild system meant that they were not able to readily seek skilled or well-paid employment, and although this arrangement was breaking down in the period examined (Tewkesbury was an open town and not subject to guild restrictions), most work was poorly remunerated. This may have been why shop and inn keeping appealed to those of intermediate or lower middling rank with modest resources: shopkeepers made up a significant percentage of Table 2.13, and Anthony Fletcher argues 'women's best opportunities lay in selling food and small wares'.[374] Erickson claims that women brewed or spun, performed domestic work or loaned money at interest.[375] The sample also bears out the suggestion by Weatherill that women were numerous in the intermediate trades of retailing, and fewer were involved in innkeeping.[376]

[373] (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, Frances Wall, 1692; (GRO), Will, 1742/157, pp. 1-2, Elizabeth Walker, 1742.
[374] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 245.
[375] Erickson, *Women and Property*, p. 202.
[376] Weatherill, 'A Possession of One's Own', 148.

Although the bulk of women did not have their occupations recorded, in reality some women operated as moneylenders, as Table 2.13 shows. There would have been a significant number of women that offered this service as B. A. Holderness suggests:

> The most prominent economic function of the widow in English rural society between 1500 and 1900 was money lending…. supplying part at least of the credit which peasant and small town society needed so extensively in seventeenth century England.[377]

Many women involved in this trade would have operated on an ad hoc basis: rentier widows and spinsters who lived off annuities and bonds lent small sums of money at interest. Judith Spicksley saw 'a rise in money-lending amongst single women' at the beginning of the early modern period.[378] These economic activities could transgress social boundaries allowing single women 'more of a foothold in the 'male' sphere' than many married women. Moneylending, when combined with other employments, led to greater independence resulting in raised levels of affluence and freedom; this has led some historians to suggest that it may have encouraged some women not to marry.[379] This section will now analyse the effect of the three categories of marital status on rank and status, beginning with spinsters.

Spinsters

The role of the spinster in the early modern period has been much debated by historians; this non-marital state has been viewed both as empowering and powerless. Porter saw spinsterhood as an unattractive choice, which resulted in women becoming: 'old maids . . . burdens on their families…with no independence and existing in an impoverished no-man's land between family and servants'.[380] Froide suggests that not only was the single status of unmarried women marked out in many towns by the wearing of a white head covering; spinsters were meant to assume a dependent role within the homes of their families.[381]

Conversely, Vickery maintains that Ludlow 'had 'streets of independent women' and that 'landladies were more likely to rent to other women'. [382] According to Wright, many affluent women took up lodgings there for the season, giving the town a 'distinctive demographic

[377] B. A. Holderness, 'Widows in Pre-Industrial Society' in *Land, Kinship and Lifecycle*, ed. by R. M. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 428, 435.
[378] Judith Spicksley, 'Usuary Legislation, Cash and Credit: The Development of the Female Investor in the Late Tudor and Stuart Periods', *Economic History Review*, 61, 2 (2008), 277-301, (p. 277).
[379] Judith Spicksley, 'Women Alone', *History Workshop Journal*, 63, 1 (2007), 312-319, (p. 313).
[380] Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Allen Lane, 1982), p. 27.
[381] Froide, N*ever Married,* pp. 1, 17.
[382] Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 211, 228.

character of female headed households', a view supported to some extent by Table 2.13. This temporary residency of women was not restricted to the rich; the underprivileged also lodged in the town to service the demands of the wealthy for dressmakers, wig makers, and milliners, but work was irregular and casual, which led to women making up a greater percentage of the poor. [383]

An examination of the higher middling rank and lower gentry spinster wills from the three towns supports the research of Ruth Larsen on elite women of the later eighteenth century. She suggests that wealthy women with a supportive family and regular income could play an active role in society.[384] They were able to run businesses successfully, probably with family backing, and families also frequently provided financial assistance to spinsters who had their own homes. One such example was Blanch Lingen, a privileged spinster who lived independently and comfortably. The 1712 will of this Hereford gentlewoman describes her as 'one of the daughters of Sir Henry Lingen'.[385] She inherited land and property and, like many of the affluent, provided charity to the parish poor.[386] Although there were other spinsters in the three-town sample, none were as high ranking. A near comparison would be a member of the lower gentry, Isabella Sprott, a rich spinster from a long-established professional Ludlow family, whose widows and spinsters bequeathed large quantities of money.[387] Jane Dowle was an example of a wealthy spinster moneylender; her 1682 inventory was valued at £361.11.00, £50 of which was silver and gold. She was owed £277 in bonds and bills.[388] These women were thus able to maintain their social status, though others, such as single women not fortunate enough to have annuities, might be less fortunate and in need of earning a living. An unmarried daughter of affluent parents could find herself with few resources following their demise, unless provision had been made. She might usefully support a single brother or male relative in his role as head of the household by assuming the public role that would have been allotted to a wife, but as a dependant relative her social status would be determined by her benefactor.[389] The majority of middling rank spinsters in the sample survived in meagre circumstances; the Hereford inventory of Rebecca White was valued at a

[383] Wright, 'Holding up Half the Sky', 54-5.
[384] Ruth Larsen, 'For Want of a Good Fortune: Elite Single Women's Experiences in Yorkshire, 1730-1860', *Women's History Review*, 16, 3 (2007), 387-401, (p. 388).
[385] (HRO), AA20, Blanch Lingen, 1712.
[386] Larsen, 'For Want of a Good Fortune', 397.
[387] (HRO), Will, pp. 1-2, AA20, Joyce Sprott, 1732; (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, Isabella Sprott, 1732.
[388] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, Jane Dowle, 1682.
[389] Larsen, 'For Want of a Good Fortune', 394-7.

paltry £18.01.00½.[390] She owned little: her clothes, £4.13.03½ of money, a brass kettle, a pair of sheets and a parcel of faggots. Since she was owed £2.05.09 'rent for faggots' she probably sold firewood to make a living. However, she was not without family as Joseph White, possibly her brother, drew up her inventory. Other spinsters that lived with their families were 'subordinate and expected to work for their families'.[391]

Married women

Porter saw marriage as a career for women: it was the place of the wife to behave with probity, to obey her husband, to produce heirs and to run the household. He also claims that at the beginning of the eighteenth century arranged marriages were still common among the quality. In common law, wives had no rights over their children or to matrimonial property, (though land could be held in trust), but Margot Finn argues that despite this, the reality of the situation was often different for women.[392] Nonetheless, inventories are not a good source to examine married women, because of the 'legal fiction of coverture'.[393]

Mary Prior suggests that, due to these severe restrictions, the act of wives making wills in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was exceptional. She claims these women were frequently impressive and influential; married women who left wills might do so because of a pre-nuptial agreement: they usually brought a dowry of money or land to the partnership.[394] An example of this independence is Jane Williams, the wife of an inn holder, with a ninety-nine year lease on a tenement in Silvington valued at £30. She also left 'woman's paraphernalia' of a feather bed, domestic textiles, kitchenware and household furniture. She had disposable wealth of £6 in money, three rings and a knife with a silver handle. Usually upon marriage, the possessions of the wife became the property of her husband; after his death ownership reverted back to the widow.[395]

Williams had taken responsibility for their granddaughter Brilliana, who lived with them; Brilliana was to be the main beneficiary receiving most of Williams' goods along with her

[390] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, Rebecca White, 1723.
[391] Froide, *Never Married,* p. 28.
[392] Finn, 'Women, Consumption and Coverture in England', 704-7.
[393] Erickson, 'Possession- and the Other One-Tenth of the Law: Assessing Women's Ownership and Economic Roles in Early Modern England', *Women's History Review*, 16, 3 (2007), 369-385, (p. 372).
[394] Mary Prior, 'Wives and Wills, 1558-1700', in *English Rural Society, 1500-1800,* ed. by John Chartres and David Hey (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1990), pp. 201-227, (p. 225).
[395] Erickson, *Women and Property*, p. 26.

lease. Williams also assured the future trade of this granddaughter by apprenticing her to a glove-maker. Her will prevented her husband from interfering in the inheritances left to her daughters, and the document illustrates the ingenuity of early modern women in recycling good quality garments. She stated:

> To my daughters if alive, all my wearing apparel except my riding coate. If my husband allows them quietly to have the above, I leave him four yards of new cloth in ye chest and desire my executors to buy him as much cloth at about 3s 6d a yeard as will make him a coate and breeches, and I give him my camlett riding coate to line it.

In giving her husband no responsibility, the property was disposed of in almost a 'male' way. He only had a life share of her real estate and tellingly, she did not make him executor; this duty fell to a different man: 'Mr. Thomas Kennett'.[396]

Married women also bequeathed money, as illustrated by two Tewkesbury wills. Sarah Merrill had £100 to dispose of; Elizabeth Walker gave legacies of at least £900 and left real estate including the house in which she and her husband lived. [397] Efforts to maintain the financial security of women, and therefore rank and status, were extended to other family members such as married daughters. A clause in a will might state that money or goods were 'in no way to be meddled by her husband'.[398]

Widows

It was at the point of widowhood that rank and status could change radically. Erickson suggests that early modern society caricatured women whose husbands had died as 'merry widows'. They were portrayed as wealthy and voracious, regardless of the truth that they were mainly poor and celibate.[399] Once widowed, many middling rank women found themselves in unenviable situations where inadequate provision had been made for them by their husbands. Those unable to support themselves had to face the social stigma of seeking poor relief, or at the worst having to live (and often die) in charitable institutions.

Widows often had no part in dispersing the estate of their husband. Data taken from the will sample used in Table 2.14 shows that over 50% of married men in Ludlow and Hereford

[396] (HRO), Will, AA20, Jane Williams, 1703.
[397] Sarah Merrill, 1693, *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 255-6; (GRO), Will, 1742/157, Elizabeth Walker, 1742.
[398] (HRO), Will, pp. 1-2, AA20, Margery Powis, 1693.
[399] Erickson, *Women and Property*, pp. 153-4.

nominated their wives as executrixes, with slightly more in Tewkesbury. These were the men that either gave their wives a life share of their goods and chattels or bequeathed them their estate.

Table 2.14 The number of married male testators that gave their wives a life share of their goods and chattels or gave their wives all their goods in the will sample, 1662-1753

	Life share		**All goods**		**Did not give wife bulk of goods**	
Total no. of wills	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ludlow 80	21	26.25	20	25.00	38	48.75
Hereford 72	24	33.33	13	18.05	35	48.61
Tewkesbury 37	12	32.43	10	27.02	15	40.54

Table 2.14 illustrates that the number of men who bequeathed all their goods to their wives varied from town to town. Slightly more men in Ludlow and Tewkesbury gave their wives a life share rather than their full estate, with Hereford bequeathing the lowest percentage of 'all goods' at 18.05%. Ralph Houlbrooke claims that one effect of these common practices was that:

> Most women did not make wills, especially widows; many had only a life interest in any land held by their husbands. A husband in his own will had often laid down the scale and nature of provision for children and most widows were considerably poorer than their husbands.[400]

The data shows why so many women were disadvantaged by widowhood, for nearly 50% of married men did not give the bulk of their goods and property to their wives. In the Ludlow and Hereford sample almost 50% and in Tewkesbury 40% of men divided their goods or gave them to their children although, as Erickson states, most widows were legally entitled to receive one-third of movables.[401] Jeff and Nancy Cox suggest that 'society held the view…. that a husband so far as possible should provide for his widow so that she did not become a liability on others'. However, this might consist of no more than goods stored in one room in the house of a son, helping to explain why so many the inventories of women were of low value.[402]

[400] Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), p. 87.
[401] Erickson, *Women and Property*, p. 169.
[402] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family* p. 87.

It can be seen how the rank and status of women could change at the point of widowhood, and how this important fact could be lost by the time an inventory was prepared. An example of this was Ann Price, the widow of a Westbury rector and a member of the wealthy Sprott family. Her home burnt down shortly after the death of her husband, destroying everything including the will of her husband.[403] She later claimed this resulted in her being defrauded of her estate. [404] More common was the gradual decline of resources demonstrated by the inventory and will of a member of the gentry, Mary Warren. Before the decease of her husband she would have been wealthy, yet her probate documents reveal that her house had been divided between two tenants. Warren was lodging in two rooms, with her possessions stored in trunks.[405] Poverty or ill health made numerous spinsters and widows dependent upon family members for financial assistance and a home.

Wills can be revealing, hinting at marital discord and casting doubt on the probity of one or both parties, which sometimes influenced bequests. Some middling rank widows, pending a son reaching his majority, were given small sums of money or became temporary custodians of the property of their late husband, as happened to the widow of Nicholas Mearson.[406] Several such wills illustrate restricted guardianships, sometimes instructing wives not to misuse or squander family goods. As has been shown, though some widows were able to maintain their social and financial position, others faced a radical reduction in their financial circumstances.

This section has demonstrated that the rank and status of women cannot be ascertained on the basis of household goods alone. As Weatherill suggests, 'women's estates were the result of more varied circumstances than men'. A main cause was the lack of financial independence following widowhood, or the loss of parents in the case of a spinster.

Conclusion

[403] A Doctor of Divinity and rector of Westbury church. London, (TNA), Will, PROB 11/588/150, pp. 1-4, John Price, 1722.
[404] (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, Anne Price, 1748.
[405]Mary Warren, 1673. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories,* ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 167-9.
[406] The wife of Mearson was 'with child' when he made his will. He stated that if a boy were born he would receive his house; a girl would be given his meadow. Nicholas Mearson, 1663, *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 125-6.

This chapter has developed a framework to improve the accuracy of classifying the rank and status of testators taken from a sample of probate documents from early modern Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury. Most of these were members of the different social groups that made up the middling rank hierarchy. These emergent middling ranks were becoming the dominant force in many urban centres. To evaluate this large proportion of society, Table 2.3 was formulated to divide the middling ranks into higher, intermediate and lower levels. This was then compared with status shown on probate documents, and it was discovered that many individuals claimed to be of higher status than their economic situation suggested.

A major difference between this study and the research of Weatherill lies in the interpretation of the definition of 'gentry'. Qualitative research of a fairly small number of inventories from the three towns permitted personal circumstances to be investigated. One result was that some of the men described as gentlemen in the sample had their status reduced according to the value of their movables, their occupation, the status of their family and friends and the location of their homes. Similarly, some men described as esquires and yeomen were found to be of lesser status. The consumption hierarchy formulated by Weatherill was a useful guide to developing a second table (2.8) to judge the distinction between social and economic groups, especially in distinguishing yeomen from husbandmen.[407] Those with rural occupations, even if they lived on the outskirts of towns, behaved in a different way from the majority of urban dwellers. They were more likely to invest surplus income in their land or livestock rather than spend it on visual domestic display. Wealth and status were frequently linked: influential and successful individuals usually had land, money or a significant quantity of trade goods.

This chapter argues that the majority of the 'gentlemen' in the three towns were from the higher middling ranks, and were members of the 'pseudo-gentry'. The absence of country gentry residing permanently in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury allowed the higher middling ranks to become a powerful and influential force. Middling men became far more than 'modestly respectable': they became the chief inhabitants of greater repute and worth than other residents, and this enabled them to exert considerable power over local administration and society.[408] These men improved the townscape and its environment with building projects, public subscriptions, charitable works and civic amenities. By the end of

[407] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 184.
[408] Stone and Stone, *An Open Elite?* p. 87; French, *The Middle Sort*, p. 263.

the period a mixture of newcomers and those with familial ties to the area were rising to become wealthy and powerful. Emerging professions began to eclipse the more traditional high status employments in the three towns in terms of wealth and success. Ludlow is a good example of professional ascendancy: the men who owned the most prestigious town houses were London or local attorneys.[409] However, the professional communities of Hereford and Tewkesbury developed more slowly, and on a smaller scale.

Despite the reputation of Ludlow as a social centre the lower middling ranks were more numerous; they mainly consisted of artisans, lesser tradesmen, spinsters and widows. This segment of society benefited directly or indirectly from the ability to attract the wealthy by manufacturing and selling goods, or by providing services.

The low value of many of the household goods of women at death has been shown not necessarily to equate to inferior status. Widows and spinsters could suffer significant falls in living standards following the demise of husbands or parents, and frequently took in lodgers or became lodgers themselves. For these reasons, retrospectively determining the rank and status of women by the value of goods alone was shown to be potentially misleading; the additional scrutiny of marital status produced a more accurate picture.

Using examples from the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury probate sample this chapter has attempted to bring some cohesion to the complex and ambiguous subject of male and female middling rank status. The status of those inhabitants required analysis to ensure a robust investigation into the link between status and consumption in following chapters. The methodology developed here with the use of Tables 2.3 and 2.8, together with the consideration of marital status for women, provides a matrix with which to determine more accurately the status divisions within the middling ranks. This will facilitate an analysis of ownership of new and fashionable domestic commodities, by social group, from the probate samples of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury. The following chapters explore how people of different status invested in and used their homes in the three towns.

[409] Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow*, p. 109.

Chapter Three: Leisure, business and politeness- the changing environment of ‘front-stage’

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to determine the degree to which metropolitan culture was being embraced in this region, both in domestic habits and in the employment of new goods. This will be achieved by an examination of rooms of display, or ‘front-stage’ rooms; the following

chapter will consider private or 'back-stage rooms'. Probate documents from the period 1662 to 1753 will be analysed to establish behavioural and cultural changes relating to the ownership of new and fashionable goods taking place in the middling rank homes of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury. These three West Midland towns, two of which sit near the Welsh border, will be compared with the research of Weatherill on the nearby areas of North Shropshire and Staffordshire between 1660 and 1760. Weatherill argues that these areas produced probate inventories with the lowest monetary value and with low proportions of new goods. She concluded that new goods were almost unknown, decorative ones unusual, clocks rare and that there was little growth. Weatherill also found that the amount of goods that middling rank people owned were the lowest of any, arguing that even remote Cumbria had more possessions.[410] However, despite her probate sample being for the most part significantly larger and wealthier than the three-town sample, Cumbria had the lowest mean total inventory valuations when compared to the three-town sample.

Table 3.1 A comparison of mean valuations between the Cumbria and North-West Midlands sample formulated by Weatherill and the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample

	Total No. of inventories	**Mean value**
Cumbria[411]	390	74
North-West Midlands,	390	93
Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample	288	85.73

The data from Table 3:1 is not directly comparable as Weatherill examined the period 1675-1725, and this research analyses the longer period of 1662 to 1753, including later lower monetary value inventories. However, Table 3:1 illustrates that there was a higher mean valuation for the three-town sample than the Cumbria sample. Weatherill classes her north-west Midland sample as Lichfield, Staffordshire and Shropshire; the latter had the second lowest mean in her table, but was higher than the mean valuations for the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample. This study will therefore question the assertion that the Midland area was comparatively backward.[412]

[410] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 58.

[411] Data taken from Table 3.2, Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 46.

[412] Weatherill, Consumer Behaviour, p. 58.

There is a danger, when studying historic domestic interiors, of making assumptions about living conditions and notions of comfort based on a modern understanding of the home. Aynsley and Grant suggest that many of our modern pre-conceptions stem from 'nineteenth-century bourgeois ideology'.[413] However, it is the previous century that is the focus of this analysis. Those in the probate sample of early modern Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury cannot be judged by the standards of comfort that came later.

The period 1660-1760 is characterized by the emergence of new and decorative goods. Overton et al declare that this was a shift in behaviour: people began to purchase these innovative objects as well as inheriting material goods. Many, although not all, households acquired more domestic goods, and created houses that were richly equipped, comfortable and specialised.[414] Benjamin Heller uses London diary evidence to claim that the home was the main recreational space for the wealthy by the 1760s. He maintains that men, as well as women, spent much of their time in their homes.[415] As a place of entertainment, the home had much to recommend it being comfortable, uncomplicated and safe, and could also be less expensive than dining in an inn. One area that saw dramatic change over the period was the adoption of specialized and sophisticated eating and drinking utensils. It has been proposed that the century under scrutiny saw the decline of basic and traditional goods; these were replaced by desirable commodities that increased comfort, were innovative and enhanced the home, or had a polite function.[416] This thesis follows the idea of Weatherill that middling rank behaviour could be altered by the ownership of new expressive goods that were also markers of status.[417] The goods that are judged to be expressive are window curtains, pictures, looking glasses and clocks. Pewter and linen had an expressive element, but were also useful everyday items; they were not novel in that they had been used in the homes of the wealthy at least since the sixteenth century. The extent to which new goods were adopted

[413] *Imagined Interiors*, ed. by Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant (London: Victoria and Albert Publications (2006), pp. 10-20, (p. 15).
[414] Mark Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households 1600-1750* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), pp. 88,118.
[415] Benjamin Heller, 'Leisure and the Use of Domestic Space in Georgian London', *The Historical Journal*, 53, 3 (2010), 623-645, (p. 624).
[416] This idea has been suggested by historians such as Overton and others, *Production*; N. J. G. Pounds, *The Culture of the English people* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*; C. Shammas, 'The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America', *Journal of Social History*, 14 (1980), 3-24.
[417] Weatherill appears to have coined the term, 'expressive goods'. She defines this as moveable goods, which had expressive roles and could be used to draw lines in social relationships by presenting powerful and important subconscious images. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 165.

in the three towns will also be investigated alongside the decline of traditional objects; this will indicate possible changes in middling rank lifestyles.

'Front-stage' theory as a framework

Seventeenth and eighteenth century households were complex, with a variety of functions and roles. A theoretical framework is required to divide household activities into different sections along with their accompanying utensils. Erving Goffman was a sociologist whose theory, first published in 1959, used the concept of a stage with actors to illustrate the idea of self-presentation. This theory has been adopted to explore the uses and types of goods described in the probate inventories from Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury. The front of the stage is where the actions of a person are visible and are part of the performance. The person who is the actor conveys their intentions and persona, and how they wish to be seen through the props of clothing, language and the setting. However, a level of artifice can arise when people are attempting to convey their most pleasing and gracious side.[418] This notion of 'front', of behaving in a particular manner for an audience, has similarities with the eighteenth century principle of politeness; poor behaviour, and sometimes domestic abuse, was hidden because it was recognised as being unacceptable to public or polite society.[419]

Although the theory of Goffman was intended to describe the actions of people rather than room use, it lends itself to this purpose. Later, sociologists further developed the theory to explain domestic behaviour; an example of this is the 1981 study by Alice Portnoy of lower and middle class families in a small Texas City.[420]

The 'front- backstage' theory is useful to historians of material culture as a possible explanation as to why some household spaces were more valued than others. It will allow an investigation of such spaces, especially those that demanded a high investment in goods, time and self. In contrast, Chapter 4 will analyse the backstage areas, where a 'relaxation of performance standards' might be exhibited.[421]

[418] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 32.
[419] Elizabeth, Foyster, 'Creating a Veil of Silence? Politeness and Marital Violence in the English Household', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), 395-416, (p. 398-9).
[420] Alice W. Portnoy, 'A Microarchaeological View of Human Settlement Space and Function', in *Modern Material Culture, The Archaeology of Us*, ed. by Richard A. Gould and Michael B. Schiffer (Arizona: Academic Press, 1981), pp. 213-224, (pp. 213-224).
[421] Portnoy, 'A Microarchaeological View', in *Modern Material Culture*, ed.by Gould and Schiffer, p. 214.

Weatherill saw that front and backstage theory could be adapted from the present to explain the activities of individuals during the early modern period. She maintains 'The utensils and equipment used at meals were of particular significance. Meals were 'front-stage' activities, even when cooking and eating took place in the same room and no visitors were present'.[422] Goods in the 'front' areas of the house showed the largest regional variation.[423] Weatherill implies that there were particular rules and conventions as to how food and drink were consumed that may suggest a type of formality was in place. The wealth of the household was a factor, as larger properties differentiated between rooms used for eating and other purposes, suggesting that this allowed a more elaborate 'front' to be constructed.[424]

Before these eating areas can be examined it is first important to define 'front-stage' sections of the house. The modern Texan study describes them as 'places where performances are presented to persons outside the family…. probably the front yard and porch, front entry hall, living room and dining room'. Portnoy defines her notion of 'front' as a communal region that extends beyond the household to incorporate the sidewalk and street in residential areas.[425]

There are a number of issues with attempting an analysis of 'front-stage' rooms for the early modern period. The number of inventories per decade varied within the sample. There were fewer inventories towards the end of the period as the practice of exhibiting inventories virtually died out.[426] These later documents show low monetary values and less detail in the naming and use of rooms, and therefore become less valuable to historians. Analysing ownership based on inventories becomes problematic when the documents decline in quality of recording and number.[427] A number of inventory-based studies finish in the 1730s specifically to avoid this decline.[428] The number of inns in the probate sample also confuses the analysis for domestic 'front-stage' room use. Inns were homes, but their commercial use

[422] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 151.
[423] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 43.
[424] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, pp. 152-5.
[425] Portnoy, 'A Microarchaeological View', in *Modern Material Culture*, ed.by Gould and Schiffer, pp. 214-20.
[426] Jeff and Nancy Cox, 'Probate 1500-1800: a System in Transition,' in *When Death do us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*, ed. by Tom Arkell and others (Oxford: Leopards Head Press, 2000), pp. 14-37, (p. 27).
[427] For an alternative explanation see Gregory Clarke, *Farewell to Alms, A Brief Economic History of the World* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 30, 33.
[428] The inventory sample of Overton et al was 1600-1749, see: Overton and others, *Production*, p. 22; the inventory sample of Weatherill selected documents between 1675 and 1725, see: Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 3.

meant that most rooms had a 'front-stage' purpose. These will be looked at separately.

For the purposes of this study 'front-stage' rooms were spaces in which chairs, stools or benches were listed in inventories, and there was at least one table for dining, even if there was a bed in the room. These places frequently have some suggestion of comfort or decoration, usually in the form of expressive goods. Regardless of wealth, most middling households would probably have had at least one room that contained the best items of furniture or was the most presentable to guests. Rooms described explicitly as parlours or best rooms were likely arenas for 'front-stage' behaviour. The majority of these types of rooms were on the ground floor, and become conspicuous during the period by the absence of work related goods. A parlour could be differentiated from the rest of the house by its lack of evidence of everyday living. One issue is that these rooms are only present in about a third of the sample, possibly indicating that named rooms with specific functions were not common.

The approach of dividing the household into 'front-stage' and 'backstage' has been recently challenged by social scientists and historians.[429] Amongst these Overton et al criticised the terms by claiming they are too crude to capture the usages of rooms and their contents. They suggest that decorative goods and furniture in 'front-stage' rooms were no more than the creation of a 'private and comfortable space'.[430] It could be the case that many 'front-stage' rooms were family rooms used by members of the household to sit, talk or eat and drink, but could also double as pleasant and presentable rooms to show to guests: less formal than a large hall or dining room and less intimate than a bedroom. Priestley and Corfield point out there had been a distinction between rooms used for sitting and those used for dining, but this became blurred by the seventeenth century.[431] Berg suggests that the middle ranking parlour often contained display goods such as pictures and prints, small tea tables and best chinaware.[432]

[429] For a new way of examining consumption, see Sara Pennell, 'For a crack or flaw despis'd: Thinking about Ceramic Durability and the 'Everyday' in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England', in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 27-40.
[430] Overton and others, *Production*, p. 136.
[431] Ursula Priestley and P. J. Corfield, 'Rooms and Room Use in Norwich Housing, 1580-1730', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 16 (1982), 93-123, (p. 102).
[432] Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 230.

An example of a comfortable family room which could be used for polite entertaining was the parlour of Samuel Powys. He was a Ludlow tradesman who worked in the malting trade; his wealth according to Table 2:3 put him into the higher middling rank category. His parlour in 1744 mostly contained furniture and objects appropriate to a gentleman. They included a table and chairs for dining, comfortable seating in the form of a couch, and some of the utensils that accompanied hot and cold fashionable drinks. The space was made pleasant and decorative by the addition of window curtains, pictures and an escritoire. The presence of a cradle in the parlour suggests that childcare was not always relegated to a servant as the baby was included in the family room.[433] However, this was the home of a lesser ranking tradesmen. Like many from this social group he owned new and decorative goods, but the way his house was organised was not as genteel as the homes of the gentry. French claims that 'only the wealthiest 'chief inhabitants' possessed the obvious material trappings of a genteel life style', and this was only 5 or 10 per cent of the 'inhabitants'.[434] This suggests that Powys may have had some degree of local influence.

Gudrun Andersson divided the goods in 'front-stage' rooms between those with economic status and those with cultural value. She claims that goods which illustrated status were 'accessible to everyone who had the necessary money', but also that the family chose to invest its wealth in status symbols such as a well-laid table, mirrors, and good quality furniture.[435] The cultural objects were divided into two categories: items concerned with art, literature and music represented high and intellectual culture; those expressing novel attitudes and habits included tables for tea, and cups for coffee. The objects relied on 'a wider context, displaying the activities and habits of the owner'. However, in assuming that objects were only used in one way the interpretation suggested by Andersson is too simple, and ignores the complexities behind the motivation for desiring particular possessions. This will be examined using the amount and location of expressive goods in the three towns. Andersson also believes that amongst the Swedish elite, lavish display was used as an attempt to force entry into powerful social groups. Those who held a more secure position preferred modest restraint which was manifested by inconspicuous consumption.[436] This observation could partly explain why many of the middling ranks purchased new consumer goods:

[433] Hereford, Hereford Record Office, (Ever after (HRO)), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-3, Samuel Powys, 1742.
[434] H. R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England 1600-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 264.
[435] Gudrun Andersson, 'A Mirror of Oneself: Possessions and the Manifestation of Status among a Local Swedish Elite, 1650-1770', *Cultural and Social History*, 3 (2006), 21-44, (pp. 33-4).
[436] Andersson, 'A Mirror of Oneself', 37-44, (pp. 33-4).

demonstrating their knowledge of fashionable taste may have been their way of insinuating an association with the social groups above them. It has been established by Weatherill that yeomen felt less need to buy new goods; this could be due to their established status and ownership of land and livestock.

Despite its inherent problems the adapted theory of 'front' has become a useful starting point for the majority of historians who examine the domestic interior. Aynsley and Grant suggest how current research points to the fluidity of room use by arguing for 'the permeability of the public/ private dichotomy'. Similarly, they stress how often the private and public spheres have overlapped throughout history: the domestic interior is clearly never merely private, but rather a multi-purpose place of hospitality and business, production and consumption.[437] The pressure of many individuals living together in a confined space such as a town may have concentrated focus on the domestic interior. The use of fashionable goods in a comfortably furnished room may have acted as compensation for the inconvenience of urban living: dirt, noise, overcrowding and possibly crime.

The influence of urban living on room use

Weatherill maintains that inviting guests into the home was an important pastime because householders would have been well aware that their goods would be seen by a broader spectrum of people than their domestic household. Many of the middling ranks spent their social time calling on each other informally in their homes. The visits were for conversation or to discuss business, but drinks and refreshments would have been served with increasing formality depending on the time of day. Greig claims that there was a concern that 'family homes doubled as crowded assembly halls'.[438] The culture of calling at houses allowed people to 'observe possessions; learn about new possibilities, or to be confirmed in existing ones'.[439] Sweet insists that 'social visiting was an extremely important part of the middling lifestyle'. The huge expansion in items for the preparation and consumption of food bear testimony to the social importance of sharing of food and drink.[440]

Weatherill claims that one effect of living in a town was to create a greater desire to look inwardly to the living space, and to make this aesthetically pleasing and as comfortable as

[437] *Imagined Interiors*, ed. by Aynsley and Grant, pp. 13-4.
[438] Hannah Greig, 'Eighteenth-Century Interiors in Image and Text', in *Imagined Interiors*, ed. by Aynsley and Grant, pp. 102-27, (p. 116).
[439] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, pp. 164-5.
[440] Sweet, *The English Town* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), p. 184.

possible. She also asserts that a high density of people, market stalls, shops and large buildings provided greater opportunities for consumption.[441] Sweet likewise believed that access to consumer goods increased consumption; whilst Edwards suggests that the domestic interior remained a potential arena for the 'nouveau riche to demonstrate their newly acquired possessions'.[442] Greig claims domestic sociability was prioritised as a function of politeness to 'ease social interaction in the confined quarters of urban space'.[443] The availability of goods combined with the perceived reaction of others may have been a strong motive to purchase stylish and expressive goods. Ludlow and Hereford certainly provided high status shops like mercers, tobacconists and booksellers, and Tewkesbury offered quality shops in the form of goldsmiths, mercers and tobacconists. [444]

Homes as a workplace

Many of the probate documents in the sample were from craftsmen and tradesmen, and suggested that homes were often also work places. Such testators, as Priestley and Corfield observe, faced: 'accommodating raw materials and merchandise within the restricted limits of an urban tenement'.[445] The storage of trade goods is investigated in Chapter 4. Overton et al maintain that 'for the majority of the population in early modern England the household was the locus of production'.[446] The parlour in the homes of many lesser tradesmen was often utilised as economic work or storage space. This was due to the fact that many traditional urban burgage plots used street-facing space as shops or workshops.[447]

The layout of early modern shops

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[441] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, pp. 82-3.
[442] Sweet, *The English Town*, p. 184; Clive Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes, A History of the Retailing and Consumption of Domestic Furnishings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 78.
[443] Greig, 'Eighteenth-Century Interiors' Text' in *Imagined Interiors*, ed. by Aynsley and Grant, p. 116.
[444] Ludlow wills of: London, The National Archives, (Ever after (TNA)), Will, PROB 11/727/465, pp. 1-5, William Jones, 1743. Hereford inventories and wills of: (HRO), Will, AA20, William Reynolds, 1662; (TNA), Will, PROB 11/420/359, pp.1-3, George Haughton, 1682; (TNA), Will, PROB 11/730/205, pp. 1-3, Rowland Wynne, 1743; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Robert Morris, 1733; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-8, AA20 Samuel Morse, 1722; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, AA20 John Davies, 1672; (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, James Lord, 1743; (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-4, Elizabeth Hunt, 1723; (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, AA20, Samuel Graham, 1742. Tewkesbury inventories and wills of: Gloucester, Gloucester Record Office, (Ever after (GRO)), Inventory, 1713/159, pp. 1-2; John Moore, 1713; (GRO), Inventory, 1733/147, p.1, Samuel Jefferies, 1733; John Millington, 1682. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories, 1601-1700*, ed. by Bill Rennison and Cameron Talbot (Tewkesbury: Tewkesbury Historical Society, 1996), pp. 202-3; Phillip Heyward, 1692. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, p. 250; John Reekes, 1692. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 249-50.
[445] Priestley and Corfield, 'Rooms and Room Use in Norwich Housing', p. 97.
[446] Overton and others, *Production*, p. 33.
[447] Richard Holt, 'The Urban Transformation in England, 900- 1100', *Norman Studies, 32- Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, ed. by C. P. Lewis (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), p. 72.

Shops were perhaps the quintessential 'front-stage' rooms. Claire Walsh states that they took many sizes and forms ranging from humble wooden shacks to show rooms. Many early modern shops developed in the front rooms of houses by simply enlarging the domestic window.[448] Walsh claims that the majority of shops were not 'work-shops into which a counter had been placed'. She draws a distinction between working tradesmen and shopkeepers, arguing that shops were refined spaces that were contrived to seduce customers into spending.[449]

Nancy Cox uses the 'front-stage' theory in her study of early modern retailing to explain the behaviour of middling rank tradesmen. She claims that they employed some areas of their homes as privileged extensions of their shops for especially valued or wealthy customers. Parlours were used in smaller London shops and in other towns to 'pamper prestigious customers or to use a more intimate atmosphere to build up relations with a customer, who might be offered long-term credit'.[450] These rooms could be 'furnished for displaying fashionable comfort'. Cox suggests that maximizing the potential of a shop was more important in small towns where high spending customers were not numerous, and therefore all the more essential to court.[451] However, Weatherill argues that for some traders, the long hours spent in the work place or shop meant that they did not make their parlours polite fashionable spaces, as insufficient amounts of time was spent in these rooms.[452]

The majority of shops in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury were operated by artisans who produced the bulk of their goods in or near their shops. Table 3:2 records how many of these premises were listed in the three-town inventory sample.

Table 3.2 The number of shops recorded in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1753

	Ludlow Invs. n = 91		Hereford Invs. n = 146		Tewkesbury Invs. n = 51	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Shops	18	19.78	27	18.49	12	23.52

[448] Claire Walsh, 'Shops, Shopping, and the Art of Decision Making in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America*, ed. by John Styles and Amanda Vickery (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 151-77, (pp. 152-153).
[449] Walsh, 'Shops, Shopping, and the Art of Decision Making', p. 154.
[450] Nancy Cox, *The Complete Tradesman- A Study of Retailing, 1550-1820* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 139
[451] Cox, *The Complete Tradesmen*, p. 101.
[452] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 144.

Ludlow, with its function as a leisure town, might have been presumed to have had the highest percentage of shops, but this was not the case. In the Ludlow sample, some of the shops were clearly work places as two belonged to a dyer and a weaver.[453] The Hereford sample recorded shops belonging to a variety of trades of different social status. In Tewkesbury, the most prestigious shop belonged to goldsmith Samuel Jefferies, whose stock consisted of £20 of gold and £21.05.00 of silver.[454]

Some of the shops were of a traditional and provincial nature, such as the shop of Francis Clent, located in the family inn in 1662.[455] Shops operated by family members in large inns were common as they provided extra opportunities to increase income. Francis Clent was a twenty-one year old haberdasher, but his premises, like many traditional shops, sold a variety of goods which fulfilled the multipurpose functions of a grocer, haberdasher and hat shop. He appeared to be supplied by four tradesmen.[456] Clent may have assembled hats in the shop as there were a great variety of hatbands and linings. He provided a service to the daily shopper by retailing small essential items, such as thread, combs, breech hooks and stockings, yet also sold a surprising array of imported exotic groceries at an early date. His shop fittings consisted of;

One new brass mortar at £2.01.00
One iron pestle at £0.02.04
Three pair of scales at £0.04.00
Brass weights at £0.02.02
Lead weights at £0.00.04½
One iron bar and cheeks in the hearth at £0.02.06
One chest at £0.10.00
One nest of boxes at £0.07.00
One wire crate at £0.07.02
Three 'rayles' one without shop and two within at £0.01.11
Six shelves behind the street door at £0.03.09
Two shelves over the chimney at £0.01.06

[453] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, John Taylor, 1713; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, Benjamin Chirme, 1682.
[454] (GRO), Inventory, 1733/147, p. 1, Samuel Jefferies, 1733.
[455]This was *The Red Lion* in Old Street. Tony Hobbs, *The Pubs of Ludlow* (Logaston: Logaston Press, 2002). p. 127.
[456] The trade goods were divided into wares belonging to Mr. Blackall, Mr Skyner, Mr. Wooton and Mr. Deddicottes. (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-4, Francis Clent, 1662.

Two shelves over the cellar door at £0.00.08

One falling window staple and hinges over the back door at £0.01.00

Thirty-four foot of board in shelves behind the chest at £0.04.01

One shelf over the window at £0.01.06.[457]

The shop fittings in the list suggest that every available surface was occupied with shelves displaying goods. He clearly believed display would stimulate sales. Goods were exhibited on his window board that served as a shutter when the shop was closed, and wares were also hung outside to attract custom.

A higher status shop layout is described in the premises of a Hereford apothecary in a 1723 inventory. However, many of the shop fittings were old and broken and only £1 worth of stock was recorded. This would suggest that the premises had operated for a long time and may have gradually scaled down its trade. The shop of William Wadeley contained;

Medicines of all kinds at £1

Two old counters and one old chest at £0.10.00

A set of drawers at £0.15.00

A parcel of old herb boxes and shelves at £0.08.00

An old desk at £0.00.06, one marble mortar

One stone mortar, one bell metal mortar and pestles at £0.15.00

Four old broken chairs and two other chairs at £0.01.08

One old brass 'frie' pan and an old stand at £0.04.00

Two old joynt stools at £0.01.06

One large pair of brass scales and two smaller at £0.03.06

A pound and a half of lead weights at £0.00.03

In the counter, a parcel of old trumpery at £0.02.00

A few gold weights and seals and box at £0.00.09

Willis' 'practice of physick' at £0.05.00

A parcel of old books fit only for wallpapers at £0.01.00.[458]

The inventory suggests that the apothecary shop had once been meticulously organised with purpose-made shelves and counters and drawers for his herbs and remedies, with an emphasis on efficiency and professionalism. Medical books would have been consulted and ingredients carefully weighed and pounded using scales and mortars and pestles to make remedies. The number of seats implies that customers may have waited and watched their medicine being

[457] (HRO), AA20, Francis Clent, 1662.
[458] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-3, William Wadeley, 1723.

prepared. Shop design was important as it influenced the judgement of the customer on the reliability and reputation of the shopkeeper.[459] Walsh maintains that many London shops speculated in shop fittings and display furniture.[460] However, this inventory, being one of many probate documents that record shop interiors, illustrates that provincial shops also invested in layout and appearance. Whilst shops were clearly 'front-stage' areas, they were primarily of commercial rather than domestic use.

The emergence of 'front-stage' rooms

The early modern period was characterised by the emergence of specialised rooms. In the middling rank homes of this sample such rooms evolved over a long period. In many households activities such as eating, sleeping, cooking and working were carried out in the main room of the house; this was usually on the ground floor. Weatherill describes the general living room towards the end of the seventeenth century as the 'houseplace, house or hall'.[461] This room derived from the medieval concept of the great hall where most activities took place. This space could also be known as a parlour. N. J. G. Pounds claims 'it is paradoxical that the more varied were the uses to which the hall was put, the more scantily it appeared to have been furnished'.[462] The decline of the hall began amongst the gentry in the sixteenth century, beginning with the building of a chimneystack and a ceiling to make chambers above.[463] By the turn of the sixteenth century many houses had been altered in their internal structure by the division of the medieval hall into smaller, more specialised rooms, such as kitchens and parlours. However, in numerous properties, cooking continued to be carried out in the multifunctional space known as the parlour that also served as a kitchen and a dining room. The use of the parlour was not yet fixed; it had not developed into a polite comfortable space or a reception room for guests, with the messier activities removed to 'back-stage' rooms.

The uses of 'front-stage' rooms in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury probate sample

As previously stated, the parlour was not an early modern invention, having been used amongst the gentry from the early Middle Ages as a place to meet and converse with

[459] Walsh, 'Shop Design and the Display of Goods in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of Design History*, 8, 3 (1995), 157-76, (167).
[460] Walsh, 'Shop Design and the Display of Goods', p. 164.
[461] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 10.
[462] Pounds, *The Culture of the English People*, p. 141.
[463] Overton and others, *Production*, p. 129.

guests.[464] The parlour had a similar role to that of the Venetian reception room, the sala, a room that was used as an opportunity to manifest the importance and unity of the family to visitors.[465] The examination of seventeenth-century wealthy London households by Frank E. Brown led him to conclude that their parlours were 'principally retiring rooms for members of the family'.[466]

As the period under scrutiny progressed, the parlour gradually became a space where time and effort were spent on achieving the right effect of politeness and taste. These types of parlours began to appear in wealthy households in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury from the 1730s. Pounds suggests that these rooms in some houses were 'where conspicuous consumption was lavished'; this might include 'fine plasterwork, pictures, floor and wall coverings and above all good furniture'.[467] A parlour required leisure time and affluence to meet such standards, and realistically often functioned as both a formal and informal space depending upon the means and social standing of the householder.

Where the house was large enough to have another room for dining, the parlour became a 'withdrawing or sitting room'. Generally, the parlour was not large, as the desire was to make it inviting and comfortable. From the eighteenth century, the room was used for relaxation, conversation, and for the taking of light meals or tea and other fashionable hot beverages. As John points out, parlours were 'evidence of a new sociability amongst the middling sort with greater emphasis on dining' and importantly, these rooms helped to reinforce social and professional networks.[468] Parlours in wealthy households, comfortable and decoratively furnished, were conducive to leisurely eating and drinking. Less affluent households might employ the room for a variety of uses, but for those with social aspirations, this room increasingly displayed less evidence of work related activity, and over time ceased to be used for sleeping. [469] The research of Weatherill indicates that the parlour was first recorded in the inventories of urban tradesmen in 1674/5; this is conveniently when her sample begins and

[464] Overton and others, *Production,* p. 131.
[465] Elizabeth Currie, *Inside the Renaissance House* (South Kensington: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2006), p. 25.
[466] Frank E. Brown, 'Continuity and Change in the Urban House: Developments in Domestic Space Organization in Seventeenth-Century London,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 28, 3 (1986), 558-590, (p. 584).
[467] Pounds, *The Culture of the English People,* p. 145.
[468] Eleanor John, 'At Home with the London Middling Sort- The Inventory Evidence for Furnishings and Room Use, 1570-1720,' *Regional Furniture,* 22 (2008), 27-51, (p. 41).
[469] Overton and others, *Production,* p. 132.

another selection of inventories may have different results. [470] Nicholas Cooper describes the removal of beds from rooms of entertainment as 'progressive'.[471] Although Overton et al do not specifically examine when urban tradesmen set aside a room as a parlour, they state in their Kentish sample that beds were recorded in 60% of parlours in 1630, and this fell to less than 17% in the period 1720-49.[472] This illustrates that parlours were in use as best bedrooms.

By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the parlour began to be recorded more generally in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury homes. However, the evidence from the three towns does not show a smooth transition from a ground floor bedroom or communal living space to a refined parlour. The inventories reveal a mixture of room uses during the period examined; this possibly reflects the conservative habits of many and the limited resources of lesser ranking citizens. For example, Thomas Winston the Elder, a Ludlow yeoman described as a gentleman, had a parlour that was furnished for genteel company and music (it was furnished with a 'sitterne'), but there was also a bed.[473] The established status of Winston as a yeoman may have meant he did not feel the same pressure as tradesmen to compete socially. In at least one inventory, a parlour was being used for sleeping, dining, storage and cooking; however, it was likely to be secondary cooking as Edward Weare, a Hereford tanner, also had a kitchen.[474] His parlour in 1683 contained:

> 'one standing bedstead, one truckle bedstead with beds, one wainscot chest, one settle, one side cupboard, one table board, five joint stools, one wainscot chair, one jack, one fire shovel, tongs and andirons, and bellows, chaffing dish, chairs, links, two cushions'.

Weare also had a hall and two bedrooms, but the parlour appears to have been the main living space. This was near the beginning of the period; beds were often listed in parlours at this date, but eating and cooking were beginning to be removed from the area. This suggests that the influences of polite living may have slowly begun to spread to the members of middling rank society in such provincial towns. Table 3:3 illustrates the number of testators that had a bed in their parlour.

[470] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 11.
[471] Nicholas Cooper, 'Rank, Manners and Display, The Gentlemanly House, 1500-1700', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), 291-310, (p. 297).
[472] Overton and others, *Production*, p. 133.
[473] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Thomas Winston the Elder, 1673.
[474] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Edward Weare, 1683.

Table 3.3 The decline of beds in 'front-stage' rooms in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1753

Sample years	Ludlow Invs. n		Hereford Invs.		Tewkesbury Invs. n	
Total No. of Invs	No. = 27	%	No. = 67	%	No. = 26	%
1662/3	0	0	0	0	3	11.53
1672/3	2	7.40	2	2.98	1	3.84
1682/3	2	7.40	2	2.98	1	3.84
1692/3	2	7.40	4	5.97	1	3.84
1702/3	0	0	0	0	0	0
1712/3	1	3.70	4	5.97	0	0
1722/3	0	0	0	0	1	3.84

Many of the beds in parlours in the seventeenth-century inventories were from wealthier households, especially in Tewkesbury, which suggests a conservative approach to cultural fashions. Ludlow had the second highest percentages of beds in parlours. John observes that this should not be read as a compromise, but rather a preference for the continuation of older practice, when a well-furnished bed was both a luxury and a statement of status.[475] The later parlour-beds mainly belonged to lesser tradesmen. For example, John Taylor, a Ludlow dyer and lesser tradesman, still retained his bed in 1713.[476] However, the nature of the primary source material may provide a significant alternative explanation for the presence of beds in 'front-stage' rooms. As inventories were taken shortly after the death of a householder, it is possible that the bed could have been placed in the room because of the advanced age or sickness of the deceased. Many households had acquired rooms with the refined functions of relaxation, entertainment and dining by the 1712/3 sample. Only one bed was found in a Tewkesbury parlour in the 1722/3 inventory sample: after this they cease to be recorded.

The frequency with which the contents of the parlour were changed has been much debated. For example, Adam Smith wrote in 1759, that 'furniture fashions were superseded every five or six years'.[477] However, Smith may have been exaggerating. Indeed, the research of Snodin suggests that high quality furniture was made to endure as 'a sideboard, a table and a set of chairs were meant to last a lifetime'.[478] In many households, the parlour at the end of the

[475] John, 'At Home with the London Middling Sort', p. 44.
[476] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, John Taylor, 1713.
[477] Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (London: Millard, 1759), p. 195.
[478] John Snodin, 'Fashionable Living', in *Design and the Decorative Arts*, ed. by John Snodin and John Styles (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2001), pp. 249-80, (p. 266).

seventeenth century would have been austere with heavy wainscot furniture. Colour was added to the furniture by the use of thick turkey work woollen carpets on the tables and cupboards, and occasionally there were hangings or painted cloths on the walls, but these furnishings were increasingly seen as unsophisticated. The uses and styles of early modern furniture have been studied by historians.[479] Overton et al claim that upholstered chairs were more commonly found in parlours than other rooms. Tables and chairs for dining and new items of furniture, notably small occasional tables for tea, were also frequently located here.[480] Table 3:4 uses inventories from the sample that specifically listed rooms, and shows that upholstered furniture was undistinguished from other types of chairs and rarely recorded in the three-town sample.

Table 3.4 The numbers and percentages of upholstered furniture recorded in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1753

	Ludlow		Hereford		Tewkesbury	
Total No. of Inv.	No. = 91	%	No= 146.	%	No. = 51	%
Easy Chairs	0	0	2	1.36	0	0
Couch	4	4.3	4	2.73	3	5.88

Easy chairs remained uncommon; only two were recorded in the Hereford sample in 1722. There was one made of plood [plaid], and another from Kidderminster textiles; these were in bedchambers, reflecting their use in a less formal room. John maintains upholstered furniture was listed separately, suggesting it was used as fireside furniture.[481] Large seating furniture was only recorded in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Couches were not listed in

[479] For work on early modern furniture see John, 'At Home with the London Middling sort'; David Knell, *English Country Furniture. The Regional and the Vernacular 1500-1900* (London: Barrie and Jenkins Ltd, 1992); Christopher Gilbert, *English Vernacular Furniture1750-1900* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991); Ivan Sparkes, *An Illustrated History of English Domestic Furniture, 1100-1837* (Bourne End: Spurbooks Ltd, 1980).
[480] Overton and others, *Production*, p. 132. This thesis does not directly analyse changing furniture types as these have been examined in my Mphil, Karen Egan-Banks, *The Domestic Interior and Material Culture of Ludlow 1700-1760*, (unpublished Mphil thesis. University of Birmingham, 2004).
[481] John, 'At Home with the London Middling Sort', p. 30.

the eighteenth century sample. Some of the couches were situated in the earlier halls and may have been too big and unfashionable for the more intimate space of the parlour.

The evidence from the three-town sample implies that the parlour was used for dining, but that chairs were not listed in enough detail to determine their type. Account has to be taken of the distortions created by the recording methods employed by probate assessors, for example, although the analysis of the number of rooms with a 'front-stage' use in Table 3:5 seems low, probate assessors often listed movables without recording rooms. Large many-roomed properties were more likely to have specific areas of the house recorded, but if rooms were unfurnished, they would have been ignored.

Table 3.5 The total number and percentage of 'front-stage' rooms recorded in the three towns between 1662 and 1753

Name of Room	**Ludlow**		**Hereford**		**Tewkesbury**	
	n[482] = 27	%	n = 67	%	n = 26	%
Parlour	14	51.85	22	32.83	3	11.53
Fore Street Chamber/ Room	0	0	4	5.97	8	30.76
Best Room/ Chamber	4	14.81	8	11.94	1	3.84
Dining Room	2	7.40	2	2.98	0	0
Hall	1	3.70	2	2.98	9	34.61
Total other rooms[483]	6	22.22	21	31.34	3	11.53

[482] n = the total number of inventories that listed specific rooms.
[483] These were rooms that appeared to have a 'front-stage' function; they were described by probate assessors as lower room, next room, room near the kitchen, second room, etc.

As Table 3:5 shows, what becomes most apparent in a study of 'front-stage' rooms is the steady decline of the hall as an entertainment or a living space over the period examined. Hall furniture, the mainly wooden couches, was also mostly listed in late seventeenth-century inventories. The hall lost its status as it developed into a space that housed the entrance. John maintains that the moving away from the traditional hall in favour of dining rooms and parlours with new fashionable furnishings, indicate 'a fundamental shift in domestic life'. Her London research illustrates some of the differences between the metropolis and the three towns as she claims 'The hall phases out in 1665, and from 1659 the dining room begins to appear routinely'. The halls in the three town sample took about fifty years longer to be phased out than London, and dining rooms remained the exception. John claims there was much regional variation in the way that the middling ranks organised their homes, and this is clearly demonstrated by this thesis.[484]

The parlour was beginning to emerge as the main space for entertainment and relaxation during the period, and yet these rooms were not identified in many homes in the sample. Some probate assessors described rooms with parlour-like functions by their location in the house. In Hereford and Tewkesbury, they were sometimes recorded as 'fore street chambers': the location overlooking the street was the defining feature. This local term does not appear in the Ludlow sample of inventories. The terms 'best room' or 'the upstairs room' may also have been used to indicate the presence of a parlour or a room used to fulfil this function.

Thornton states that rooms where meals were eaten were suggested by the presence of a buffet or cupboard.[485] The three town sample suggests that the consumption of food took place in an assortment of rooms; the presence of multiple chairs, a table or cupboard and tableware all imply that the eating and the carving of food occurred within that area. Such areas include a hall, an upstairs room or occasionally the kitchen.

Politeness and 'front-stage' rooms

The desire for fashionable interiors and social status was only part of the multitude of needs and desires that people had. Factors like age, gender, and marital status affected behaviour. Social pressures and the availability of new goods in towns may have encouraged the

[484] John, 'At Home with the London Middling Sort', pp. 38; 40-1; 49.
[485] A buffet or cupboard was a sideboard that stored cups and plates. Peter Thornton, *Authentic Décor, The Domestic Interior, 1620-1920* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995), p. 18.

middling ranks to at least partially partake in the acquisition of some of the new commodities and groceries. The prosperous added to the comfort and appearance of their parlours by making them increasingly decorative; this helped to incorporate the eighteenth-century notion of politeness. Langford claims this concept required a 'degree of leisure and wealth'....[as it] emphasised the outer self-behaviour that contributed to social ease, and taste that chimed with cultural correctness'. Rooms could exhibit clear polite functions by being refined spaces; Langford also maintains that 'politeness allowed a culture in common between people from different social backgrounds permitting some type of recognition'.[486] Rooms with polite functions such as parlours were emerging in the third and fourth decades of the eighteenth century in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample. Also around this time hot drink equipage was beginning to be recorded in some homes of the wealthy middling ranks. Pippa Shirley claims that tea, coffee and chocolate had been available in the metropolis since the mid-seventeenth century.[487] Hot drinks took nearly one hundred years to filter into middling rank homes in the three-town sample.

It is important to note that the majority of the inhabitants whose probate documents survive in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample were from the lower middling ranks. The priorities of this large social group would have evolved around work and family; politeness reflected in the domestic interior would have been a luxury in which many could not afford to indulge. The lesser tradesman Richard Collier, for example, had a parlour with a triple function: this was where members of the household slept, ate and spun wool.[488] The Tewkesbury sample of inventories illustrates a slower rate of change than in Ludlow and Hereford; nearly 40% of the people from the sample retained a hall as the main dining and entertainment room. This may reflect a local particularism, or the relative cultural under-development and lack of resources of some of the testators from Tewkesbury as the polite 'front-stage' rooms were usually in the probate documents of the wealthy. This implies that whereas the higher middling ranks were aware of new modes of living, the majority of residents were unable or unwilling to adopt the newer ways.

[486] Paul Langford, 'The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), 311-331, (pp. 314-5).
[487] Pippa Shirley, 'Tea, Coffee and Chocolate', in *Elegant Eating, Four Hundred Years of Dining in Style*, ed. by Philippa Glanville and Hilary Young (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2002), pp. 108-11, (p. 108).
[488] Most likely it was the wife of Collier that spun the wool. (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Richard Collier, 1672.

The evidence suggests many higher middling rank men did not own large numbers of tables and chairs within their homes, and were unlikely to entertain on a large scale unlike members of the gentry. Wealthy middling rank parlours were generally comfortable and decorative relaxation spaces containing perhaps one table and a small number of chairs, between four and eight, presumably for family dining and entertainment on a more intimate level. John suggests that the new oval tables and chairs implies that people had moved away from hierarchical seating arrangements, as there was no obvious position for the head of the household.[489] However, status may have been marked out in other ways: by a better quality or more fashionable chair, or by being closer to the fire or having a view out the window. The Ludlow sample of probate documents indicate that fashionable tables were in use from 1672. Yeoman Thomas Winston the Elder, for example, had a round table, and Evan Davies, a saddler, bequeathed an oval table board and frame in his will.[490] In the Hereford sample, round tables were listed in 1673 whilst the first oval table was not mentioned until 1712, in the home of the son of a Ledbury rector.[491] Oval tables were most likely in use long before this, but the probate assessors in the sample did not describe them. Shaped tables begin to be listed in the Tewkesbury sample of probate documents from 1692; the will of tobacconist John Reekes recorded a 'greate oval table'.[492] Table boards were described in inventories until 1713 but they may have been in use longer; after this date the majority of tables are not defined.[493]

The three-town sample illustrates that at least one member of the gentry owned sufficient quantities of tables and seating furniture to potentially entertain large numbers of guests; this aspect of his home fits the pattern of early modern inns. The inventory of Ralph Goodwyn, a Ludlow MP in the 1630s and 1640s, gives the earliest mention of a parlour in the inventory sample. It was recorded in 1663; this was before the urban tradesmen of 1674/5 recorded by Weatherill, which illustrates that some of the wealthier locals had already adopted specialised rooms during the earlier seventeenth century.[494] Goodwyn may have entertained many of his peers within his home and would have been aware of metropolitan fashions. His 'front-stage' rooms, the parlour and dining room, could be described as a lesser and greater dining room. There were 'seven chaires, four stooles and two table boordes' in the parlour, and the more

[489] John, 'At Home with the London Middling Sort', p. 39.
[490] (HRO), AA20, Thomas Winston the Elder, 1672; (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, Evan Davies, 1673.
[491] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Oswald Hopkins, 1673.
[492] John Reekes, 1692. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 249-50.
[493] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Edward Paine, 1713.
[494] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 11.

decorative ‘six Turkey worke chaires, six Turkey worke stooles and two table boordes’ in the dining room.

The ‘Dyneinge roome’ in the home of Goodwyn is an example of the levels of opulence that some seventeenth-century dining rooms achieved. This room demonstrated his sophistication and was furnished to project his wealth and taste. However, the furnishings of the room were valued at a modest £1.10.00 and the contents of the closet were valued at £2. The inventory was taken at the end of his life when he was sixty-six, and the goods may have been old and out-dated. The total value of his inventory was £1966.03.00.[495] The bulk of his wealth was not in household goods, as the actual value of the contents of his two properties amounted to £180.15.00. There were a number of inventories with household goods exceeding this amount, but the inventory of Goodwyn stands out because of its detail. His dining room walls were decorated with ‘one looking glasse, mapp and picture’; the presence of these items is unusual for the early date. These were accompanied by five hangings with ‘fower Turkeyworke carpettes, one needle worked, six Turkey worke chairs and six Turkey stooles’. The furniture provides evidence of a rich and elaborately decorated room. Howard suggests that ‘the wealth of hangings was certainly the most distinctive feature of a room, especially when associated with textiles on accompanying furniture’.[496] The contents of the entire room were valued at £1.10.00, making it unlikely that the textile wall decorations were tapestries, as these would have been valuable. More likely they were a less expensive alternative like painted cloths.[497] Hangings were rarely recorded in middle ranking homes in the three-town sample and they ceased to be listed after the 1720s. There were two examples in the Ludlow sample, three in Hereford and none in the Tewkesbury sample.

The exotic display of hangings and turkey work chairs in the home of Goodwyn would have been aesthetically pleasing, but impractical; Daniel Cronstrom, writing at the end of the seventeenth century stated that one should avoid having textile hangings in the dining room. Panelling was better as it did not retain the odour of food.[498] This is echoed by Thornton, who claims that fashionable turkey work chairs were difficult to clean due to their comfortable

[495] (TNA), Inventory, PROB 2/689, pp. 1-4, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663.
[496] Howard, ‘Fashionable Living’ in *Design and the Decorative Arts*, ed. by Snodin and Styles, p. 101.
[497] The use of painted cloths in homes has been examined by Madge Moran and by The Geffrye Museum: Madge Moran, *Vernacular Buildings of Shropshire* (Logaston: Logaston Press, 2003), p. 340; The Geffrye museum <http://www.Geffryemuseum.org.uk/collections/thematics/17th/walls/page-1/ Accessed [24 February 2014]
[498] Quoted in Thornton, *Authentic Decor*, p. 57.

pile surface.[499] He suggests that chairs covered in this textile illustrated that the householder chose comfort over utility as meals frequently lasted for hours.[500] The impression created by the dining room of Goodwyn was of a very traditional room for the date; there were no bare walls. The five hangings and the three-framed objects may have covered most of the walls, depending on their size. Wall decorations could be overlapped as Thornton insists there were:

> No rigid conventions [that] seem[ed] to have governed the hanging of pictures at this period, they were often hung in front of tapestries, with the nail driven through the hanging.'[501]

This practice had ceased by the eighteenth century.

Goodwyn owned a number of unusual decorative goods; these were possibly conversation pieces brought out for guests to inspect or were items of personal or affective worth. Sentimental items were often stored in closets.[502] His contained:

> Three bottles, one amber cup and cover, two amber candlesticks, one amber dish and spoon, one box with counters, one glasse bason and ewre [ewer], four glass topps for stills, one glasse bottle, two glass dishes, two glasse bassoons, [basons] ….. One allablaster morter, one sunne dyall and a geometrical instrument.[503]

These were valued at £2 with some pieces of furniture. His box and counters imply that he gambled or at least played games with his visitors. There were also rare and novel mathematical devices like the sundial and a 'geometric instrument'. These suggest the scientific and astronomical interests that would be expected of an educated man, and would have connected Goodwyn to like-minded gentlemen, widening his complex network of contacts.[504] His objects of unusual materials, (alabaster and amber) illustrate knowledge of a world outside England, and the accumulation of objects suggests a cabinet of curiosities, considered 'the essential apparatus of the learned gentleman'.[505] Specialist and novelty items collected by the wealthy and powerful from the sixteenth century were frequently far more than a cabinet of curios; they could fill a number of rooms and many later formed the basis of

[499] Thornton, *Authentic Decor,* p. 59.
[500] Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Decoration in England, France and Holland* (London: Yale University, 1978), p. 285.
[501] Thornton, *Authentic Decor*, p. 27.
[502]Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 205.
[503] (TNA), PROB 2/689, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663.
[504] Helen Clifford, *Silver in London, The Parker and Wakelin Partnership, 1760-1776* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 69.
[505] Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums, The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe* (Thirsk: House of Stratus, 2001), p. xvi.

museums.[506] The eclectic assortment of objects and the elaborate furnishings in the 'front-stage' rooms enabled Goodwyn to demonstrate his right to his position in society.

One social group which often lacked the money, space and time required for designated rooms of leisure such as parlours, because they frequently lived above their shops, were the lesser tradesmen.[507] They made up a significant cohort in the probate sample which could explain the low numbers of parlours and 'front-stage' rooms present in the evidence. Such properties may have been built originally for purely residential purposes, but the insertion of a shop space absorbed the parlour. The inventory of Ludlow baker Mrs Ann Farmer, for example, describes four rooms on the ground floor and five rooms on the first floor, with the shop occupying a ground floor parlour space.[508] Similarly, in the Hereford inventory of glover Edward Paine, there were four rooms and a shop on the ground floor but again no parlour.[509] In some cases, tradesmen appeared to have used their best bedchamber as a parlour by incorporating a table and chairs and decorative goods, such as looking glasses and pictures.

The inventory sample was analysed to determine if there was a particular section of middling rank society that listed parlours. The presence of a parlour could imply that individuals were aware of changes taking place in the domestic environment, and perhaps adopting some of the new modes of eating and drinking. The study of seventeenth-century middle ranking Londoners by Brown suggests that a parlour was a vital space that allowed members of the family to meet others from outside their social group. It was also the place that professionals and tradesmen could conduct business.[510] Tables 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8 indicate the difference between individuals by occupation and the value of their parlour in each of the towns.

[506] Impey and MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums*, p. xx.
[507] Priestley and Corfield, 'Rooms and Room Use in Norwich Housing', p. 97.
[508] (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, Mrs Ann Farmer, 1733.
[509] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, Edward Paine, 1713.
[510] Brown, 'Continuity and Change in the Urban House', p. 590.

Table 3.6 The value of Ludlow testators' goods whose inventories recorded parlours, 1672-1753

Name	Date	Occupation	Value of goods in parlour	Total value of inventory
Ralph Goodwyn	1663	Esquire/ Gentleman	£2.10.00	£1966.03.00
Richard Collier	1672	Mason	£2.10.08	£37.19.00
Thomas Winston the Elder	1673	Gentleman/ Yeoman	£4.07.00	£39.18.06
Henry Stedman	1683	Gentleman/ Yeoman	£1.08.00	£32.07.06
Benjamin Chirme	1682	Weaver	£2.00.00	£38.05.02
Edward Woodall	1693	Carpenter	£2.00.00	£15.18.00

Samuel Oakley	Will made[511] 1712	Gentleman /Yeoman	£2.00.00	£17.18.00
John Taylor	1713	Dyer	£2.18.00	£70.07.08
Thomas Stanley	1713	Gentleman	£3.08.06	£111.00.06
Thomas Rocke	1713	Gentleman	£2.08.00	£114.03.06
John Lane	1713	Gentleman	£3.05.00	£410.13.07
Richard Neathway	1722	Tailor	£0.05.00	£18.10.00
Thomas Jennings	1732	Wheelwright	£0.17.00	£10.09.06
Samuel Powys	Will made 1742	Maltster	£6.18.6	£355.10.06

Table 3.6 lists the fourteen Ludlow inventories from Table 3:5 that recorded parlours out of a sample of twenty-seven documents that described rooms (51.85%). Four of the seven men described as gentlemen were members of the gentry, whilst the others were landowning yeomen. The value of the goods in the parlours range between £1.08.00 and £4.07.00; this indicates that these testators invested significant sums of money in their parlours, even when the total value of their movables was not high. An example of this is Thomas Winston the Elder whose goods in his parlour were valued at £4.07.00, around 10% of the total value of his possessions.[512] The amount of money invested suggests that this room may have played an important role in his lifestyle. In comparison, the goods in the parlour of Goodwyn (£2.10.00) were a fraction of his household goods (£180.15.00).[513] By the end of the period, some of the lower middling ranks were investing substantial amounts of money in their parlours. This seems to confirm their awareness of changes to social practices within the domestic environment. However, there were also a significant number of parlours in the sample that contained few decorative items. The evidence from Table 3.6 implies that in Ludlow it was not only the wealthy or privileged that owned 'front-stage' rooms; eleven out of the fourteen inventories were valued at £70 or under, and belonged to men from a variety of backgrounds including lesser tradesmen.

[511] Will made – the date that accompanying wills were made has been used to bring some inventories into the three town sample.
[512] He was recorded as a Ludlow gentleman, but the Ludlow 1665 Hearth Tax described him as a yeoman. (HRO), AA20, Thomas Winston, 1673.
[513] (TNA), PROB 2/689, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663.

Table 3.7 The value of Hereford testators' goods whose inventories recorded parlours, 1672-1753

Name	Date	Occupation	Value of goods in parlour	Total value of inventory
Nicholas Tucker	1672	Clothworker	£6.13.04	£164.07.08
Oswald Hopkins	1673	Gentleman	£1.00.00	£148.10.00
Thomas Price	1673	Clothworker	£00.10.00	£39.12.03
Peter Corbett	1673	Farmer	£00.04.00	£28.03.06
Henry Wall	1682	Gentleman	£0.09.00	£117.11.02
David Griffith	1682	Unspecified	£2.00.00	£47.05.02
Edward Collins	1692	Gentleman	£2.00.00	£29.18.00
Edward Weare	1683	Tanner	£5.00.00	£219.09.11
John Trihearne	1692	Clothworker	£0.11.06	£23.19.06
Ann Morton	1693	Spinster	£1.11.06	£148.01.11
Benetiza Bosworth	1693	Spinster	£4.13.00	£58.05.08
Humphrey Gullapher	1693	Tailor	£3.00.00	£91.02.08
Thomas Bullock	1713	Yeoman	£01.03.00	£441.03.06
Samuel Morse	1722	Mercer	£3.06.06	£838.15.01 ½

Roger Rosses	1722	Bargeman	£1.15.00	£16.01.00
John Moody	1722	Carpenter	£1.13.06	£19.00.06
John Smith	1723	Barber Surgeon	£2.10.00	£15.0.00
Benjamin Crow	1723	Tanner	£5.04.02	£576.16.03
William Adams	1743	Maltster	£2.01.00	£17.17.00
Joan Baker	1733	Spinster	£3.00.00	£288.01.06
William Turner	1733	Sexton	£2.00.00	£4.18.00
Thomas Cox	Made 1753	Barber	£5.17.4	£101.14.0½

Table 3.7 lists twenty-two Hereford inventories that recorded parlours out of a sample of sixty-seven inventories that listed types of rooms (32.83%). There were no parlours listed in the 1662/3 sample and fewer men were described as gentlemen in the Hereford sample; only Oswald Hopkins appeared to have connections to the gentry. The lowest valuation of the goods in a parlour was less than in Ludlow being £0.04.00, but the highest valuation exceeded that of Ludlow at £6.13.04.[514] The Hereford sample had more parlours recorded: twenty-two in total, three of these were for spinsters. Many of the middling ranks who owned parlours were artisans and shopkeepers. However, there were some other trades and callings, for example, John Smith, a barber surgeon, and William Turner, the sexton of St. Peters church.[515] Overton et al state that 'the presence of a parlour was clearly related to the size of the house', but some of the lower middling ranks owned parlours.[516] Eleven of the twenty-two inventories were valued at £89 or under. One of the inventories with the highest monetary value belonged to Samuel Morse, a higher ranking tradesmen and a mercer, but a significant portion represented trade goods; the parlour of Morse was assessed at £3.06.06. The room with the highest valued contents belonged to the lower middling rank Nicholas Tucker, a clothworker. There were three men described as clothworkers who had parlours; these men may have woven woollen cloth or they may have been involved in the finishing processes. The parlour of Tucker was valued at £6.13.04 in an inventory of only £164.07.08. The overall value of this room was misleading as it was used as a storage area with sixty bushels of barley and malt, implying that Tucker may have also worked as a maltster.[517] Although Tucker had a parlour it was clearly not a 'front-stage' room used for polite living; it was far more useful as a storage space for valuable stock. This ordering of priorities offers

[514] Peter Corbett was described as a farmer, but was more likely a husbandman. (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, Peter Corbett, 1673; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Nicholas Tucker, 1672.
[515] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, John Smith, 1723; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, William Turner, 1733.
[516] Overton and others, *Production*, p. 131.
[517] (HRO), AA20, Nicholas Tucker, 1672.

important insights into the mental worlds of artisans like Tucker and Tobias Needham, seen in Chapter 2, whose only wealth is continually re-invested in the continuing survival of their precarious businesses.

Table 3.8 The value of Tewkesbury testators' goods whose inventories recorded parlours, 1662-1733

Name	Date	Parlour or fore-street chamber	Occupation	Value of goods in parlour	Total value of inventory
John Higgins	1662	Parlour	Gentleman	£4.00.00	£395.05.00
Abraham Griffin	1663	Parlour	Yeoman	£5.10.00	£411.07.00
Thomas Barnsfield	1663	Fore St. Chamber	Brazier	£9.05.10	£38.09.08
Nicolas Palmer	1663	Fore St. Chamber	Chandler	£3.16.00	£57.06.02
Katherine Clarke	Will made 1673	Fore St. Chamber	Widow	£2.00.00	£101.01.04
Thomas Nanfan	Will made 1682	Parlour	Gentleman/captain	£1.00.00	£89.02.00

Charles Brush	1692	Fore St. Chamber	Maltster	£9.07.00	£99.17.11
George Chapman	1692	Fore St. Chamber	Distiller	£0.10.00	£26.01.00
John Hannus	1702	Fore St. Chamber	Flax retailer	£6.06.06	£38.05.00
Richard Pitt	1703	Fore St. Chamber	Tanner	Not Listed	£338.06.06
John Jenkins	1722	Fore St. Chamber	Currier	£4.16.6	£73.03.06

The number of parlours recorded in the Tewkesbury sample was low; Table 3.8 illustrates that out of twenty-six inventories only three recorded parlours. However, there were eight 'fore street chambers', which were de facto parlours making a total of eleven out of twenty six named rooms (42.03%). The sample also had six inventories valued at £89 or less. Some of the lesser tradesmen in the town had significant proportions of their household goods in their main display rooms. For example, the goods in the fore street chamber of Thomas Barnsfield had a high monetary value because his beds were also in this room. The 'front-stage' room of Charles Brush contained £2.06.00 of linen, as well as his bed alongside storage and seating furniture. Likewise, the fore street room of John Hannus contained expressive goods, but the bed was still present.[518] These facts indicate possible limited means or the conservative nature of some of the inhabitants of Tewkesbury.

Analysing the number of parlours in the three towns has led to some interesting points becoming apparent. Firstly, there were few 'gentlemen' that owned parlours; secondly, the value of the overall movables of an individual was not related to the value of the goods in the parlour, as this room was used for a variety of polite and general uses, including storage of stock in trade. Also the acquisition of new and fashionable goods did not necessarily mean that the householder aspired to belong to polite society, or would have been viewed as such. The qualitative method of analysis used in this study has highlighted some important variations, not only in parlour ownership, but in the proportion of total wealth invested in that room as a symbol of social aspiration.

[518] Thomas Barnsfield, 1663. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories,* ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 133-6; Charles Brush, 1962. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories,* ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 243-5; (GRO), Inventory, 1702/157, p.1, John Hannus, 1702.

Evidence of the uses of dining rooms in the three towns

The dining room was mainly used for formal eating and entertainment, but could also be used for discussing business or for holding polite conversation. The formality of the occasion may have been indicated by the quality of the tableware and linen, and by the excellence of the food and drink. The level of hospitality offered might depend on the status of the guests; the room could be dressed to suit the occasion. Frances Collard argues 'formal eating rooms evolved early in the eighteenth century', which illustrates the importance of the previously discussed inventory of Ralph Goodwyn.[519] He died in 1658 aged sixty-six, though it is likely that his dining room would have been established a number of years earlier.[520] Goodwyn was not alone in owning a dining room before the eighteenth century as Richard Scott, the higher middling rank Ludlow innholder, had a dining room for commercial purposes.[521] Since there were two inventories that listed these rooms in the small sample of Ludlow inventories, the suggestion is that dining rooms may have been in use earlier than Collard believes. Although Ludlow was a long way from the metropolis, the previous national importance of the town made it more aware of metropolitan fashion, and therefore less provincial and isolated than other country towns. It is unlikely that Ludlow was unique in its early adoption of dining rooms; these types of rooms would have existed in the houses of the wealthy in other provincial towns during the seventeenth century. However, although probate appraisers were familiar with dining rooms, they did not become an essential part of middling rank life in the three towns, as the parlour fulfilled this function.

Not all dining rooms were reserved for polite uses. The 1723 inventory of William Wadeley illustrates that his dining room was used informally. He was a former Hereford mayor and apothecary occupying an eighteen-roomed property, yet Wadeley had no parlour; the space he occupied was half bedroom and half dining room, since it contained his bed, dressing tables, a fashionable oval table, and twelve Turkey work chairs that were outmoded for the time.[522] He owned some expressive goods in the form of a 'landskip' and a parcel of small pictures, but Wadeley was an elderly widower, and may therefore have found it more

[519] Frances Collard, 'Furnishing the Dining Room', in *Elegant Eating,* ed. by Glanville and Young, pp. 20-1, (p. 20); (TNA), PROB 2/289, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663.
[520] Collard, 'Furnishing the Dining Room', in *Elegant Eating,* ed. by Glanville and Young, p. 20; (TNA), PROB 2/289, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663; Some dining rooms existed before this date in very wealthy houses, for example, Ham House. <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/main/w-vh/w-visits/w-findaplace/w-hamhouse> Accessed [14 May 2012]
[521] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Richard Scott, 1685.
[522] Dobson, *Herefordshire 1700-1820* <http://herefordshire1757-1820.typepad.co.uk/> Accessed [12 September 2012]

convenient to live in one room.[523] Fashionable furniture was clearly no longer his priority; although his inventory indicates the presence of new objects alongside older pieces, other rooms contained broken household items and clutter that might indicate a loss of interest in domestic appearances.

The types of expressive goods recorded in the three towns

Newly available commodities and luxury furnishings, though not essential, were decorative and enhanced the appearance of a room. They embodied ideas about the aspirations of the household and were, as Berg puts it, 'special items ….of household adornment in distinctive materials and styles'.[524] This would include, for example, looking glasses, clocks, window curtains, pictures and hot drink equipage. Maya Jasonoff argues that 'possessions are critical indicators not only of personal taste, but also of social milieu, wealth, education and status. By acquiring them one can craft and advertise a particular persona'.[525] This self-fashioning through possessions can be seen in the 'front-stage' rooms of aspiring, but not affluent tradesmen. In 1702 John Hannus, a Tewkesbury flax seller and shopkeeper, for example, had a fore street room which contained, apart from his bed, fire equipment and linen, one table board, seven chairs, one chest, one chest of drawers, a looking glass, a picture and three window curtains.[526] Objects were important; people were judged by what they owned as well as how they conducted themselves.[527] Following her research, Cox concluded that the many retailing tradesman owned pictures, looking glasses, pewter, china and earthenware and that the possession of these goods served a double function. They made the life of the tradesman more comfortable, but also served as an advertisement to customers that entered their homes as to the types of goods that could be obtained and the type of trader with whom they were dealing.[528] This phenomenon of collecting cultural artefacts occurred in homes throughout England.[529] Weatherill convincingly suggests that the:

[523] (HRO), Inventory, Will, AA20, pp. 1-4, William Wadeley, 1723.
[524] Maxine Berg, 'Women's Consumption and the Industrial Classes of Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Social History*, 30, 2 (1996), 415-434. (p. 429).
[525] Maya Jasonoff, 'Collectors of Empire: Objects, Conquests and Imperial Self-Fashioning', *Past and Present*, 184 (2004), 109-135, (p. 111).
[526] (GRO), 1702/152, John Hannus, 1702.
[527] Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes*, p. 78.
[528] Cox, *The Complete Tradesman*, pp. 138-9.
[529] See Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*; Overton and others, *Production;* Berg, 'Women's Consumption'; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*.

> More attractive and varied goods were associated with the expressive 'front-stage' activities, whereas those used 'back-stage', with the exception of some beds and bedding, were less liable to change, infrequently decorated, and not overtly expressive.[530]

However, the research of Overton et al led them to conclude that it was not that clear cut, as items could be located in 'front-stage' or 'back-stage' spaces; for example mirrors could be located in chambers for the use of a particular individual.[531] The inventory sample from the three towns is therefore examined to determine where four sorts of expressive goods were listed in order to investigate their use and possible meaning. Items could have been for the benefit and comfort of those in the household, or displayed in public rooms as a symbol of the wealth of the family.

Table 3.9 The location of expressive goods in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1753

	Ludlow n = 91		**Hereford** n = 146		**Tewkesbury** n = 51	
	No.	%	No.	%	No	%
Looking Glasses						
No. owned	22	24.17	40	27.39	14	27.54
'front-stage' rooms[532]	5	5.49	6	4.10	6	11.76
'back-stage' rooms[533]	1	1.09	1	0.68	1	1.96
Inventories with both[534]	0	0	0	0	2	3.92
Unspecified location	16	17.58	34	23.28	5	9.80
Window curtains						
No. owned	12	13.18	14	9.58	3	5.88

[530] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 165.
[531] Overton and others, *Production*, p. 135.
[532] 'Front-stage' rooms have been defined for Table 3.9 as parlours, halls and dining rooms.
[533] 'Back-stage' rooms have been defined for Table 3.9 as kitchens, bedrooms, storage areas and places of production.
[534] These are households with expressive goods recorded in both 'front' and 'back' stage rooms.

'front-stage' rooms	2	2.19	3	2.05	1	1.96
'back-stage' rooms	5	5.49	3	2.05	1	1.96
Inventories with both	0	0	3	2.05	1	1.96
Unspecified location	5	5.49	5	3.42	0	0
Clocks						
No. owned	3	3.29	4	2.73	3	5.88
'front-stage' rooms	2	2.19	2	1.36	1	1.96
'back-stage' rooms	1	1.09	1	0.68	1	1.96
Inventories with both	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unspecified location	0	0	1	0.68	1	1.96
Pictures						
No. owned	8	8.79	10	6.85	4	7.84
'front-stage' rooms	4	4.39	8	5.47	1	1.96
'back-stage' rooms	1	1.09	1	0.68	1	1.96
Inventories with both	1	1.09	1	0.68	1	1.96
Unspecified location	2	2.19	1	0.68	1	1.96

Table 3.9 indicates that there were few fashionable commodities listed in the three-town inventory sample. The residents of Hereford and Tewkesbury surprisingly had more new goods than Ludlow, which was becoming a fashionable social centre. This possibly reflects the lack of affluence of many of the inhabitants of Ludlow with the wealthy and gentry only residing temporarily in the town for its season. Although expressive goods have been listed by location, some were not listed by room, complicating the argument that they were used in 'front' or 'back-stage' rooms. Where particular objects, for example, looking glasses were identified *in situ* they were recorded mainly in 'front-stage' rooms. Mirror ownership was not particularly high in the three-town sample with fewer than 30% of testators having these items, but the Ludlow sample had the lowest percentage of ownership. These percentages were lower than the percentages recorded by Weatherill for mirrors for the craft and dealing trades, which ranged from 36 to 60%.[535] Tewkesbury had more mirrors in 'front-stage' rooms than Ludlow and Hereford, this may suggest that there were slightly more Tewkesbury inhabitants that prized mirrors and were aware of these fashionable items.

The presence of mirrors in 'front-stage' rooms suggests that they were valued as a fashionable commodity rather than for practical use. Towards the end of the period improvements in production made mirrors more affordable and less rare. Despite mirrors

[535] Table 2:8, Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 184.

becoming more available, few of the middling ranks seemed to possess them; maybe assessors overlooked smaller ones and some, incorporated into articles of furniture or fixed into wall panelling, would not have been recorded. Some inventories listed broken mirrors, which possessed small monetary value and could be purchased at household sales, possibly for the value of the frame. [536] Berg argues mirrors were less common away from the capital as 75% of the propertied households in London owned looking glasses in the period 1675-1725, whilst only 50% were owned in similar households in provincial and lesser towns.[537] The lower percentages of ownership in the three town sample may suggest a slower rate of adoption of fashionable goods.

Window curtains were only listed in a few households in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample. Weatherill also found lower percentages of these goods in her craft and dealing trades sample, ranging between 13% and 28%.[538] The Ludlow sample was similar to this figure at 13.18% and also mainly involved people of the lower middling ranks. There were slightly more curtains in the Ludlow sample and these were mainly in 'back-stage' rooms. Some would have been in best bedrooms used by the master and mistress of the house, and these rooms occasionally had 'front-stage' uses as they had multiple chairs and a table. In the Hereford sample, a small number of households had window curtains; these were hung in 'back-stage' and 'front-stage' rooms. Window curtains created a different ambience from the older wooden shutters. Shutters prevented break-ins, but were a restrictive barrier between those in the house and the outside world, and could make interiors dark and oppressive. Window curtains were softer, helped to prevent draughts, and even when closed were not such a rigid obstruction. Weatherill claims these were more likely to be owned by those from the intermediate trades: dealers, innkeepers, and shopkeepers: the sorts of people who lived in towns.[539] However, window curtains were also owned by the wealthier members of the intermediate trades, the higher middling ranks and the gentry. In Ludlow, five out of the eight inventories that listed window curtains were from the gentry. The three town sample showed ownership ranged from 6% to 11%, whilst Weatherill listed ownership as 13%.[540]

[536] For example, Shropshire Archives, (Ever after (SA)), 151/4262, The Sale of the Household Goods and Furniture of the late Mrs Walcot, 1765.
[537] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, p. 313.
[538] Table 2:8, Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 184.
[539] Weatherill, 'Consumer Behaviour, Textiles and Dress in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *Textile History*, 22, 2 (1991), 297-310, (p. 304).
[540] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 8.

Clocks were rarely listed in the three towns sample; Tewkesbury had the most, with more of these items in 'front-stage' rooms in Ludlow and Hereford. The percentages of clocks recorded were much lower than the craft and dealing trade sample formulated by Weatherill, which ranged between 17% and 27%.[541] Occasionally there were clocks with cases recorded; this provides an indication of their size and style. The clocks were valued between £0.10.00 and £3.05.00 with slightly more listed in 'front-stage' rooms.[542] Weatherill concluded that this item was 'individually expensive', and barely occurred in inventories of the lowest value. They were hard to overlook because of their value.[543] The Kent sample of Overton et al inventories of 1720-1749, displayed a high number of clocks; however, their poorer Cornish sample was similar to the ownership patterns of the three towns, not surprising given that Overton et al argue that these objects remained a luxury item before 1750.[544] However, clocks were available to the three towns' inhabitants in the first half of the eighteenth century if they could afford them as there were nine clock makers in Ludlow, and a number in Hereford, Tewkesbury and nearby towns.[545] The purchasing of clocks may not have been viewed as a necessity as many inhabitants of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury lived in the proximity of church bells or chimes.[546] The wealthier sections of society may have owned gold or silver pocket watches that may have been alienated from estate via the will or deathbed gifting, as these appear only sporadically in probate documents from the 1680s.[547]

The pictures that were listed in the inventory sample were mainly located in 'front-stage' rooms in Ludlow and Hereford. The Ludlow sample had the highest proportion of pictures and, similarly to Overton et al's sample, most pictures were listed in 'public' rooms.[548] The three-town figures were much lower than the 33% produced by Weatherill for the craft and dealing trades.[549] The pictures recorded in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury ranged from inexpensive prints to maps, and the more exclusive oil paintings of landscapes and family

[541] Table 2:8, Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 184.
[542] The lowest value clock and case was recorded in the Ludlow inventory of Arthur Winwood. The highest value clock and case was listed in the Hereford inventory of Benjamin Crow: (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, Arthur Winwood, 1702; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, Benjamin Crow, 1723.
[543] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 207.
[544] Overton and others, *Production*, p. 112.
[545] Tony Branson and John C. Eisel, *Herefordshire Clockmakers and Watchmakers* (Ashbourne: Mayfield, 2005); Graham Dowler, *Gloucestershire Clockmakers* (Cirencester: Phillimore, 1984).
[546] Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift, *Shaping the Day, A History of Timekeeping in England and Wales, 1300-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 135-6.
[547] For example, William Griffiths, a higher middling rank Ludlow mercer with connections to the gentry owned at least two watches, one gold watch valued at £8 and 'an old watch' assessed at £1: (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-3, William Griffith, 1688.
[548] Overton and others, *Production*, p. 135.
[549] Table 2:8, Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 184.

portraits.[550] The prints meant less to their owners than commissioned paintings as they lacked individuality, but provided an inexpensive and decorative alternative. The prints would have been produced in large numbers, appealing to a broad spectrum of society. They were useful for intermediate trades like innholding as they created an ambience; these presumably had cheap frames or were not framed, and although they were not described they were likely to be copies of well-known subjects such as those by William Hogarth. It is probable that familiar landscape paintings were reproduced along with portraits of the English monarchy. The evidence from the inventory sample suggests that prints were occasionally hung together in groups; this is suggested by the way that they have been recorded by the assessor, for example, 'several small pictures'. Portraits possessed much more status than prints due to the cost and time invested in their commission. They were personal items, unique to households as being visible family trees to those who owned them, but too individual to have much resale value. Portraits and landscapes were more likely to be hung in the parlour, or other 'front-stage' rooms. Marcia Pointon argues that these 'were often disposed of last when families sell inherited goods. They also remain longer in the same location…. portraits can provide symbolic continuity'.[551] An example of the importance of family connection illustrated through a portrait is revealed in two female Ludlow wills. Alice Dawes owned a number of portraits; these were given to family members. One of her nieces (Anne Stead) was given 'my own picture'; this portrait reappeared later in the will of Anne Stead who gave to her cousin 'my Aunt Mrs Alice Dawes picture'.[552] Stead clearly had valued the gift, and was ensuring that it went to a relative: it had become a family heirloom.[553]

The use of pewter

Pewter was different from the expressive goods already described; it had practical application as a vessel for food and drink as well as its decorative function and intrinsic value. It was frequently recorded with other metal kitchen wares, for example, brass and iron. Pewter has

[550] An example of which is the 'landskip over the chimney' recorded in the Hereford dining room of William Wadeley; (HRO), AA20, William Wadeley, 1723; In the fore street chamber of a Hereford spinster was 'the deced's own picture'. Although the value of her household goods were low, £17.07.06, the presence of commissioned portraits suggest connections to the higher middling ranks, alongside the ownership of other luxurious goods. The status of Edwin may have been a recent development; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Anne Edwin, 1712. See the description of the goods of Ann Chandler in Ponsonby, 'Ideals, Reality and Meaning', *Journal of Design History*, 16, 3 (2003), 201-214, (p. 204).

[551] Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head, Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 14.

[552] (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-3, Alice Dawes, 1722; (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, Anne Stead, 1741.

[553] Berg maintains that testators passed on goods of high affective resonance. Berg, 'Women's Consumption', p. 418.

been examined in this chapter because Weatherill included this item as an expressive 'front-stage' commodity; she argues pewter plates and dishes were in use in 1675, but were not common.[554] They were used on the tables of parlours and halls then returned to the kitchen. This section tests the levels of ownership in the three towns against the inventory sample of Weatherill. Frequently listed in inventories, pewter was valued for its durability and as a metal and was used to make many different types of utensils and vessels. When polished and lit by candlelight pewter tableware could make a dramatic display and remained a traditional marker of status, because the wealthy and the gentry had owned it during the seventeenth century.[555] Pewter filtered down the social scale and its popularity endured until the mid-eighteenth century. It was rarely displayed in 'front-stage' rooms however; instead it was used and returned to storage in 'back-stage' areas of the house. Consequently, most probate assessors did not specify the location of these objects. The amount of pewter in the three towns is analysed in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10 Percentages of inventories recording itemised pewter in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662 and 1753

Town	**Inventory sample**	**Total No. of pewter**		**Itemised pewter**	**Itemised pewter**	**Pewter of all sorts**	**Pewter of all sorts**
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ludlow	91	70	76.92	21	23.07	49	53.84
Hereford	146	128	87.67	52	35.61	76	52.05
Tewkesbury	51	34	66.66	17	33.33	19	37.25

The Hereford sample recorded the highest percentage of pewter, possibly because it was a recognised traditional commodity that retained its value. The Tewkesbury sample may have had the lowest quantity because of the lack of affluence of many of its testators.

Table 3.11 The location of pewter in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1753

[554] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 30.
[555] *Yeoman and Colliers in Telford*, ed. by Barrie Trinder and Jeff Cox (London: Philimore, 1980), p. 100.

Location of pewter	**Ludlow** n = **91**		**Hereford n = 146**		**Tewkesbury n = 51**	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of households that recorded pewter	70	76.92	128	87.67	34	66.66
'front-stage' rooms	2	2.19	8	5.47	3	5.88
'back-stage' rooms	19	20.87	56	38.35	14	27.45
Inventories with both	0	0	2	1.36	0	0
Unspecified location	49	53.84	62	42.46	17	33.33

Table 3.11 highlights the degree to which this item was stored in 'back-stage' rooms or in an unspecified location. The levels of ownership in the inventory sample of Weatherill of between 1675 and 1725 are far higher than those in the three-town sample, recording a range from 89% to 95%.[556] This either implies the conservative nature of consumption in the Ludlow and Tewkesbury sample or suggests that the testators were as yet unpersuaded by the virtues of 'semi-durables'. The amount of pewter in the Hereford sample was close to the lowest percentage recorded by Weatherill.

Occasionally, some detailed inventories indicate how many dishes and plates were owned, suggesting that households with large quantities of pewter were more likely to entertain guests. It could be assumed that the wealthy would have had large quantities of plates and dishes, and those on low incomes just sufficient to fulfil their own needs. However, the picture was more complex. Two Hereford inventories from 1733 both recorded large amounts of pewter serving ware, but the two testators were from different social and economic backgrounds. The inventory of Thomas Philpotts, an innholder who owned many expressive goods, with movables valued at £19.04.06, had slightly more dishes than John Price, a wealthy yeoman whose goods were valued at £583.09.00, many times that of Philpotts.[557] As stated previously, yeomen were less likely to own new goods. Price may have possessed large quantities of pewter as a traditional marker of status either because they also represented an investment or because he had inherited them. The pewter plates and dishes belonging to Philpott were used to serve food to his patrons, but they were also a visual symbol of his wealth and the quality of his inn, distinguishing it from those inns which used cheaper treen

[556] Table 8:2, Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 184.
[557]Thomas Philpotts owned 22 dishes and 3 dozen plates in 1733, in an inventory valued at £19.04.06; John Price of Hunderton in 1733 owned 20 dishes and 3 dozen plates in an inventory valued at £583.09.00; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, Thomas Philpotts, 1733; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, John Price, 1733.

plates and dishes.[558] The use of such quantities of pewter suggests the patrons of Price were refined enough not to steal his tableware.

Some households only had dishes.[559] Such was the case with John Treharne, a lower middling rank Hereford clothworker, whereas Branston Jones, a Hereford glover of intermediate status, had many more dishes than plates.[560] Ownership limited to dishes suggests the maintenance of an old- fashioned diet of pottage, broths and stews that could be cooked using minimal equipment. Alternatively, it might indicate that appraisers were not differentiating between types of plates and dishes as pewter became more common. Table 3.12 illustrates the variety of pewter ware and its ownership recorded in the three towns.

Table 3.12 Middling rank pewter ownership by type of object in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample 1662-1752

Types of pewter items	**Ludlow Sample** n = 91		**Hereford sample** n = 146		**Tewkesbury Sample** n = 51	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Plates	14	15.38	47	32.19	12	23.53
Dishes	17	18.68	72	49.32	20	39.21
Flagons and other serving vessels	4	4.39	18	12.33	5	9.80
Drinking vessels	4	4.39	26	17.81	9	17.64
Porringers	5	5.49	34	22.60	7	13.72
Candlesticks	9	9.89	29	19.86	3	5.88
Saucers	0	0	6	4.12	2	3.92

The Hereford sample had the largest quantity of pewter plates, dishes and drinking ware. The data recorded by Weatherill for pewter dishes ranged between 33% and 62%, whilst there

[558]Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse* (Harlow: Longman Group, 1983), p. 198.
[559] Weatherill claims that pewter dishes and plates may have been seriously under-recorded. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 30.
[560] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, John Treharne, 1692; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, AA20 Branston Jones, 1683.

was a range of 9% for husbandmen and up to 49% for the dealing trades.[561] The Hereford sample was nearest to these percentages, whilst the Tewkesbury sample recorded more plates and dishes than Ludlow. What becomes apparent is that the middling ranks in the Ludlow sample frequently had fewer goods or new commodities that would indicate behavioural changes than those in the seemingly less affluent Hereford and Tewkesbury samples.

The evidence from the three towns implies that more of the middling ranks owned dishes than plates. Lower middling rank households were more likely to retain dishes towards the end of the period; perhaps wooden trenchers were used for other types of food. Weatherill insists that the rapid growth in ownership of pewter plates is indicative of changing behaviour at meal times.[562] However, the evidence from Table 3.9 suggests that many of the lower middling ranks were slow to adopt metropolitan habits. In Ludlow there were more plates than dishes owned by 1732.[563] In Hereford this was much earlier; plates were more popular by the 1712 sample. The Tewkesbury sample suggests the middling ranks had more plates than dishes by 1722. This implies that some households were familiar with individual plates and served food out of large dishes. This may be linked to changes in the type of food served, with meat and vegetables presented to diners, rather than soup or pottage.

The amount of itemised pewter used for drinking or serving vessels remained low, perhaps indicating that inexpensive leather, wooden, earthenware or glass vessels were in use in many households well into the eighteenth century. However, the sample shows that from the last quarter of the seventeenth century, many of the middling ranks used pewter vessels for eating and drinking. Pewter porringers were listed in a number of inventories; these were pottage dishes or soup bowls with ear-shaped handles.[564] The number of porringers in a household appears to be related to poverty, since there were more porringers in poorer households where the diet would have been basic and repetitive. In the Hereford sample, twenty-four of the inventories that listed these objects were assessed at less than £50, with over 50% of households (eighteen), owning between six and ten porringers. The items came in different sizes; for example, in 1732, three small porringers were valued at £0.01.00, and five larger

[561] Table 8:2, Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 184.
[562] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 31.
[563] There were no inventories that itemized pewter dishes and plates in the 1722 sample.
[564] *The Goods and Chattels of Our Forefathers*, ed. by John S. Moore (London and Chichester: Philimore, 1976), p. 321.

ones at £0.02.01; they belonged to artisans and lower middle ranking shopkeepers.[565] These bowls were only recorded in the inventories of three Hereford gentlemen and one inventory of a gentleman in Ludlow. Some inns also had numerous porringers; in 1672 at inns in Hereford, Thomas Price owned nine porringers, and Thomas Davies owned ten.[566] Their use declined during the period, as the food that customers desired changed. By the mid-eighteenth century new fashionable hot drinks were in demand. The inventory of Thomas Cotton, a Tewkesbury innholder, recorded movables valued at £605; amongst his goods were listed a number of earthen teawares.[567]

The 'front-stage' rooms in inns and alehouses in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury, 1662-1753

The vital commercial and social functions of inns and alehouse have been mentioned in Chapter 1. This section examines the internal structure of inns to demonstrate the diversity of these commercial properties. Inns were more sophisticated than alehouses as they operated from larger, higher status buildings. They attracted wealthy cliental and provided a range of good quality services. Alehouses were frequently lower in status and operated out of a main room or kitchen of a domestic house. These establishments provided mainly ale and basic amenities; the ale house keeper was often a less affluent artisan or widow.[568]

Parlours in inns have been examined separately because they frequently doubled as a private space for the innkeeper and the main public room for patrons; the furniture in these locations therefore differed from private residences. Some inns retained halls which were also utilised for patrons in some late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century premises. The 1712 Hereford inventory of William Griffith shows that his ground floor hall and kitchen appeared to have little furniture for sitting. Patrons may have stood with their drinks or there may have been built-in window seats. Apart from this, Griffith had plenty of the other paraphernalia to operate an alehouse. The property contained six bedrooms, two of these being garrets, with quantities of pewter serving ware and linen.[569] Table 3.13 lists the number of innholder probate documents from the three town sample.

[565] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-3, Edward Parker, 1732.
[566] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Thomas Price, 1672; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, AA20 Thomas Davies, 1672
[567] (GRO), Inventory, 1733/105, p.1, Thomas Cotton, 1733.
[568] Clark, *The English Alehouse*, pp. 8, 9, 66.
[569] (GRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, William Griffith, 1712.

Table 3.13 The total number and percentage of inn and alehouse holders in the probate document sample from Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury, 1662-1753

	Ludlow		**Hereford**		**Tewkesbury**	
	Inv. n = 91	Will n =106	Inv. n =146	Will n =122	Inv. n = 51	Will n = 59
No. of inn and alehouse holders	8	7	8	9	3	3
% of inn and alehouse holders	8.79	6.60	5.47	7.37	5.88	5.08

The table shows that there were only a small number of inn and alehouse holders' inventories and wills in the three town sample. Ludlow recorded a slightly higher number of inn and alehouse holders, whilst there were more whose wills survive in the Hereford sample. Some of these documents are illuminating in their details of new goods and room use. Table 3.14 shows the variation *n* in the three town sample between the values of goods in inn holders' parlours, together with the total value of their movables.

Table 3.14 The value of inn and alehouse keepers' goods from the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample whose inventories recorded parlours, 1682-1733

Name	**Date**	**Value of goods in parlour**	**Total value of inventory**
Richard Scott (Ludlow)	Will made 1682	£3.00.00	£212.06.08
William Ible (Ludlow)	1742	£0.11.00	£19.04.06
Mary Williams (Hereford)	1663	£0.10.00	£212.10.11
Thomas Davies (Hereford)	1672	£2.00.04	£42.02.02
Thomas Philpotts (Hereford)	1672	£4.10.00	£248.00.00
Thomas Price (Hereford)	1672	£5.00.00	£104.07.06

Humphrey Minton (Hereford)	1723	£2.07.00	£466.19.01
Richard Morgan (Hereford)	1723	£0.10.00	£89.11.00
William Nicholas (Hereford)	1732	£4.00.04	£38.01.11
Thomas Philpotts (Hereford)	1733	£1.01.06	£19.04.06
Edward Keysale (Ludlow)	1743	£1.00.00	£18.05.06
Michael Tandy (Tewkesbury)	1683	£2.00	£90.02.06
Hannah Guy (Tewkesbury)	1702	£00.10.00	£49.16.06
Thomas Cotton (Tewkesbury)	1733	£1.00.00	£605.00.00

Hereford recorded the most parlours, though all innholders would have had at least one parlour-type room set aside for serving drinks to patrons. The value of goods in the rooms ranged between £0.10.00 and £5.[570] In the more basic alehouses it is difficult to see which room was the public room as the internal structure of the property was not dissimilar to a humble domestic dwelling. Many of the inn and alehouse holders operated business in conjunction with other occupations. Innholders could also be tanners, glove makers, ironmongers and shopkeepers.[571] Keepers of large and successful inns did not need extra income from other trades or the profits from a shop.

Richard Scott of Ludlow and Thomas Cotton from Tewkesbury are examples of such innholders: they owned the main coaching inns in their towns.[572] Scott was referred to as a gentleman, probably due to his status from running the premier inn in Ludlow, and from his position on the Corporation.[573] The value of his inventory, valued at £212.06.08, was

[570] (GRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, Richard Morgan, 1723; (GRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Thomas Price, 1672.
[571] The Ludlow inventories of: (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, William Ible, 1742; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, William Wilmot, pp. 1-2, 1662; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-3, Jeremiah Sayce, 1733; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, Thomas Heath, 1742; Michael Tandy, 1683. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 207-9.
[572] (HRO), AA20, Richard Scott, 1685; (GRO), 1733/105, Thomas Cotton, 1733.
[573] Hobbs, *The Pubs of Ludlow*, p. 63.

substantial for household goods in 1682. The large Ludlow inn, *The Crown* had eighteen rooms; some of these rooms were named, for example, 'The Judges Chamber, The Luer Chamber and The Feathers Chamber'. Eleven rooms contained beds. During his ownership of the inn, Scott increased the number of hearths in the inn from sixteen to eighteen.[574] In 1682 the parlour possessed '12 chayres and 3 tables' whilst the dining room possessed '8 turkey work chairs and 8 tables'. Weatherill suggests innkeeping was an intermediate trade.[575] However, the size and prestige of *The Crown* implies higher status.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the best quality inns often contained new and decorative items, such as window curtains, looking glasses, and colourful and comfortable furniture. This investment in fashionable goods helped attract and retain wealthy patrons by offering quality food and drink in luxurious surroundings. In the more important towns a well-furnished inn was expected to provide services to the local elite and to wealthy travellers. Thomas Cotton owned a large inn in Tewkesbury in 1733. Jones claims that during the eighteenth century, 'in each of Tewkesbury's main streets was one major inn'. The inn was likely to have been *The Star and Garter* in Barton Street, *The Royal Hop Pole Hotel* in Church Street or *The Swan* in the High Street.[576] The numbers of large inns in Tewkesbury testifies to its popularity as a resting post for travellers. The inn had fifteen rooms, a stable and a brew house. He was conscious of the importance of new hot drinks and polite interiors that were only beginning to be adopted in towns outside the metropolis. Large inns prevented the widespread popularity of coffee shops outside London because tea, coffee and chocolate were sold in their luxurious surroundings. Cotton may have had many fashionable items in his inn, but he also had traditional markers of status with £25 of silver. This was conventional silver plate, a tankard and spoons that may have been family heirlooms.

Cotton provided a parlour that was a purely functional space for patrons with 'two tables, ten chairs and six pictures' valued at a £1, making it the second lowest value room. Upstairs, however, there were five luxurious multi-functional bedroom suites with movables valued at between £10 and £20 each. The most expensively furnished contained 'one bed, bedstead covering and furniture, four tables, seventeen chairs, one large looking glass, twenty pictures,

[574] *The Shropshire Hearth-Tax Roll of 1672*, ed. by W. Watkins-Pitchford (Shrewsbury: Shropshire Archaeological and Parish Register Society, 1949), pp. 162-165.
[575] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 169.
[576] Anthea Jones, *Tewkesbury* (Guildford: Philimore, 1987), p. 93.

window curtains'.[577] These bedrooms would have been used by family members and wealthy and exclusive customers. The large rooms had a 'front-stage' purpose as they had numerous chairs and tables (between six and seventeen chairs, and between one and four tables in each room). The other bedchambers contained expressive or high status goods such as looking glasses and china. Prendergast Schoelwer in her study of eighteenth-century Philadelphia homes concluded that 'the best bedroom commonly served as the primary stage for polite entertaining'.[578] This was perhaps even more the case in superior inns.

The ownership of table linen

A commodity that enhanced the appearance of tables in inns and helped illustrate the cleanliness of the premises was good quality table linen. These items were also important markers of status in domestic households.

The quality and type of table linen owned by a household indicated that it could provide an atmosphere of polite dining. Linen was a 'traditional' item of consumption because it acted as an indicator of social and economic status.[579] The cleanliness of tablecloths and napkins also denoted much about household values and respectability. Thornton suggests that the presence of a linen press illustrated the importance of appearances as they produced a 'truly sharp crease' on table linen.[580] Weatherill states that the use of lighter weight textiles appears to have dated from the second half of the seventeenth century.[581] Around this date in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample many testators used Turkey work carpets on their dining tables. Some households owned both tablecloths and table carpets; the linen cloth was placed on top of the table carpet to protect the valuable fabric from grease and stains. Weatherill claims that the ownership of table linen did not expand during the period she examined.[582] Table 3.15 records the percentages of table linen listed in the three town sample.

[577] (GRO), 1733/105, Thomas Cotton, 1733.
[578] Susan Prendergast Schoelwer, 'Form, Function, and Meaning in the Use of Fabric furnishings, A Philadelphia Case Study', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 4, 1 (1979), 25-40, (p. 27).
[579] Prendergast Schoelwer, 'Form, Function, and Meaning', p. 28.
[580] Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Decoration*, p. 286.
[581] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 28.
[582] Weatherill, 'Consumer Behaviour, Textiles and Dress', p. 303.

Table 3.15 Middling rank table linen ownership in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample 1662-1752

	Ludlow Sample n = 91		**Hereford sample** n = 146		**Tewkesbury Sample** n = 51	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Linen	56	61.53	95	65.06	31	60.78

The amount of table linen recorded in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample was high compared with the other expressive goods that were examined, the percentages of linen was similar, at 60%, to the percentage calculated by Weatherill for the dealing trades. The Hereford sample had the highest percentage, followed by the Ludlow and Tewkesbury samples. However, the gentry sample of Weatherill owned slightly more table linen at 62%, though this was less than the percentage recorded in Hereford.[583] The high amount of linen owned in the three town sample suggests that many of the middling ranks appreciated the importance of at least owning if not using it; it may also have been within their reach financially. These objects were rarely stored in 'front-stage' rooms, but located in 'back-stage' spaces, although it was common for the probate assessor to list linen separately, away from the context of the room it was kept in. However, table linen should still be considered a 'front-stage' commodity. Table 3.16 examines the location of table linen in the three town sample.

Table 3.16 The location of linen in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1753

Location of Table linen	**Ludlow** n = 91		**Hereford** n = 146		**Tewkesbury** n = 51	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
'front-stage' rooms	0	0	4	2.73	1	1.96
'back-stage' rooms	10	10.98	26	17.80	8	15.68
Inventories with both	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unspecified location	46	50.54	65	44.52	22	43.13

This table suggests that the location of these goods was frequently not listed. However, higher percentages of this commodity were recorded in 'back-stage' rooms. Also many probate assessors did not itemise linen: 'Linen of all sorts' was a method of valuing the

[583] Table 2:8, Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 184.

textiles as one entry within a household. Weatherill also encountered this, as she states that table linen was the least satisfactory of all the goods she selected; some inventories gave immense detail, whilst others included all the linen together.[584] The textiles in the Ludlow, Hereford, and Tewkesbury sample were described as damask, diaper, Holland, huckaback, flannel, flaxen, linen and hemp. Prendergast Schoelwer declares that the better quality fabrics gradually filtered down the social-economic scale.[585] However, a great deal of the lower middling ranks owned poor quality napkins and tablecloths, described as 'coarse' or made from hemp. The appearance of these textiles would not have convinced anyone that they were entering a polite interior, but it illustrated that the householder was emulating polite eating habits.[586] Some higher middling rank households possessed large quantities of table linen. Hereford yeoman John Price of Hunderton, for example, owned five dozen napkins; this social group frequently owned traditional goods, rather than fashionable items.[587] Richard Scott, the Ludlow innholder, owned eighteen tablecloths; obviously linen was an astute commercial investment for him, designed to attract wealthy diners to his premises.[588] David Mitchell claims that hand towels ceased to be used in gentry households by the beginning of the seventeenth century because of the increased provision of table forks but they continued to be listed as essential items amongst the goods of the middling sort.[589] This was certainly the case in the three town sample. Households required large quantities of linen to ensure continuity of supply between infrequent washings.[590] Overton et al saw a connection between personal comfort and new and better-quality linen; they suggest that an explanation for the high number of tablecloths listed in some inventories is a continuation of the medieval practice of putting more than one cloth on the table, with subsequent layers being removed after each course.[591] This seems unlikely, as households might use all their linen in one sitting, and washing textiles was labour-intensive.

The percentages of table linen in the three town sample were similar to the national averages of Weatherill. The Hereford sample illustrates that slightly more of these commodities were

[584] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 207.
[585] Prendergast Schoelwer, 'Form, Function, and Meaning', p. 27.
[586] Earle stresses that well-equipped London households usually possessed large numbers of napkins; these were needed because faces and hands were wiped after meals with a hot, damp napkin. Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class* (London: Methuen, 1989), p. 298.
[587] (HRO), AA20, John Price, 1733.
[588] (HRO), AA20, Richard Scott, 1682.
[589] David Mitchell, 'Napery, 1600-1800' in *Elegant Eating*, ed. by Glanville and Young, pp. 52-3, (p. 52).
[590] Prendergast Schoelwer, 'Form, Function, and Meaning', p. 38.
[591] Overton and others, *Production*, pp. 110-19.

owned in this town. The sample has clearly shows that for the inhabitants of the three towns, table linen stood high in the hierarchy of expressive goods.

Status and expressive goods revisited

The results from the inventory sample indicate that new goods like looking glasses, mirrors and pictures, linen and pewter were more likely to have been owned by some members of the gentry, professionals and wealthy tradesmen. Those from the lower middling ranks were more likely to own only one or two expressive goods often the more functional, for example, pewter or linen, though there were exceptions. Yeomen did not possess many fashionable goods, but they owned large quantities of traditional markers of status like linen and pewter. Sometimes there was little relationship between the value of estate or status of the individual and their ownership of at least one sort of expressive object, as even the poorest might purchase or inherit goods in a range of qualities. Pewter, with its durability, might be handed down, possibly contributing to it being the most frequently owned item, followed by linen and then looking glasses. The thrifty middling ranks seemed to favour objects that had a practical application. Clocks were the rarest expressive items in the three town sample which may have been due to their expense, though their possession was not confined to the wealthy. Thomas Harper of Hereford, for example, owned a clock in 1733. His goods were assessed at only £8.13.06, but his clock was valued at £1.[592] There were only two inventories from the sample that owned the four expressive goods from Table 3.8 as well as pewter and linen. These were both from Tewkesbury towards the middle of the eighteenth century. Apart from the objects owned, there was little similarity between the two lifestyles. John Jenkins was a lesser tradesmen and a lower middling rank currier, whose goods in 1722 were assessed at £73.03.06.[593] Thomas Cotton owned many expressive goods, but these were intended to enhance the appearance of his luxury inn in 1733.[594] Both inventories demonstrate not only that new and luxury goods were entering middling rank households from the second decade of the eighteenth century, but also that they appealed to a wide spectrum: from lesser tradesmen through to affluent innholders from the higher middling ranks.

The examination of six types of expressive goods has led to the conclusion that many of the middling ranks in the sample were aware of polite manners and culture. However, they chose

[592] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, Thomas Harper, 1733.
[593] (GRO), Inventory, 1722/62, p.1, John Jenkins, 1722.
[594] (GRO), 1733/105, Thomas Cotton, 1733.

to embrace it piecemeal as it suited their lifestyle, financial means and social status. The purpose of some of these items, such as pictures, looking glasses and clocks, was to enhance the main 'front-stage' areas of the house. These objects had a two-fold purpose. Their decorative novelty brought pleasure to the household. To visitors their meaning was different; they illustrated the refinement of the household and its ability to spend surplus income on non-essentials. Other goods were also pleasing to the eye but had practical purposes; window curtains were desirable for the warmth and privacy they bestowed. Objects like pewter and linen added refinement to eating and drinking. These objects had been in use for a long time and were affordable to a wide section of the middling ranks.

The importance placed on food and drink

This section will demonstrate how some of the most visual and significant changes to the material culture of early modern middling rank households in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury revolved around eating habits, fuelled by new types of consumption.

The consumption of food and drink was necessary, but it also held important connotations. Although eating was a source of pleasure it was also 'an activity that marked off fine calibrations of social status… and an occasion for union with one's fellows and one's God'.[595] Socially, eating and drinking within the home of someone else indicated that there was a certain amount of trust, as the sharing of victuals was an intimate and personal thing. The way a person behaved, their manners and refinement (or lack of it) were open to scrutiny. In the same way, the host who organised the meal was also under observation, beginning with their appearance, followed by the house, the quality of the tableware and finally the excellence of the food and drink.[596] The time and effort taken to prepare and arrange an elaborate dinner implies a hidden agenda on the part of the host. For example, a way of introducing oneself to neighbours, or to reward people for services done or to seek some favour. By contrast, refusing to eat or drink with someone was tantamount to rejecting them socially.

In eighteenth-century England, dinner was the largest meal of the day followed by the less formal supper in the evening. Dinner in many middling rank households often consisted of bread and cheese, pottage or meat with ale or other drink, all of which were relatively easy to

[595] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast. The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1987), p. 3.
[596] Glanville, 'Introduction', in *Elegant Eating*, ed. by Glanville and Young, pp. 7-15, (pp. 11-12).

serve. Weatherill claims this was eaten at midday by virtually everyone in the seventeenth century, although it was taken later in the day among the upper ranks in the early eighteenth century. Dinner was frequently eaten in company with friends or visitors. She claims that:

> Most families had one or two dishes on the table, appropriate to the size and status of the meal. When eating the meal, people each had their own dish, plate or trencher on to which they carved or helped themselves from the serving dishes. Food was eaten with a knife and fingers, except for pottage, which was eaten with a spoon.[597]

Helen Clifford suggests forks became standard equipment for the aristocracy in the 1670s, but it would have taken much longer for these objects to be adopted by the wider populace.[598]

The way that food was consumed during the period changed dramatically as the use of knives and forks, glassware, china, tea and coffee equipment was increasingly adopted, indicating that meals were becoming more elaborate and leisurely. To Berg, the cooking and serving of meals occupied a special place in middling and labouring households; these activities were subject to subconscious rules in etiquette and social conventions.[599] Weatherill insists that:

> The equipment used at mealtimes was particularly important as some of the most valuable and attractive items were associated with meals, and some of the most visible changes in domestic equipment in the early eighteenth century were associated with eating and drinking.[600]

Once a greater number of smaller dishes were employed for individual use, some traditional items disappeared, such as the large communal serving platters.[601] Caudle cups and covers for drinking posset were listed only in seventeenth-century inventories and fell from use. It is argued that treen ware or wooden plates declined in use to be replaced by pewter. Nevertheless treen ware would have continued to be used, especially in rural areas. Pewter, like linen, enhanced the look of the table, but denoted no major change in dining behaviour.[602]

The use of cutlery in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury samples

[597] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, pp. 152-3.
[598] Helen Clifford, 'Knives, Forks and Spoons, 1600-1830', in *Elegant Eating*, ed. by Glanville and Young, pp. 54-7, (p. 54).
[599] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, p. 228.
[600] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 155.
[601] Overton and others, *Production*, p. 105.
[602] Shammas, 'The Domestic Environment', p. 10.

The middling ranks in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample were slow to embrace the new style of eating with cutlery as this required a modification of existing practices.[603] Eating with knives and forks resulted in slower paced meals, ones that allowed for conversation between bites. Overton et al insist the adoption of knives and forks required a cultural change. They claim it would have been possible for most households from their Kent sample to purchase knives and forks earlier due to easier access to new goods, than in their Cornish sample. In the three town sample, sets of knives and forks were unusual, but not unknown. Knives and spoons made from a variety of inexpensive materials, for example, tin, wood and pewter would have been universally owned.

Silver cutlery was more likely to be recorded due to its investment value; silver spoons were the commonest object, but occasionally other silver items were recorded. For example, a widowed Tewkesbury gentlewoman owned 'fower knifes and a silver fork' in 1673.[604] In 1733, a well-stocked Tewkesbury inn had three dozen of knives and forks.[605] The presence of cutlery in the inn indicates a significant behavioural shift, as the premises no longer presumed that customers would bring their own knives and forks. Up until the late seventeenth century, it was the custom to travel with a personal set of cutlery.[606]

The adoption of semi-durables and hot drink equipage

The drinking habits of the middling ranks changed over the period examined thanks to the availability of new lightweight and colourful semi-durable containers and the spread of fashionable beverages. Drinks such as tea, coffee, chocolate, wine, and brandy 'would have appeared startlingly novel to a population who had previously quenched their thirst on cold small beer, ale and hot possets'.[607] New non-conductive vessels were needed to make and serve fashionable hot drinks; this stimulated production of new china, earthenware and glass tableware. The middling ranks were able to purchase equipment to suit their needs and their pockets, priced from the basic to the elaborate and the costly. Before the mid-eighteenth century most pottery was locally made or sometimes sold by peddlers. In the three-town sample, the middling ranks that possessed one type of semi-durable, such as earthenware, glass or china were likely to own other sorts. However, this research also reinforces the

[603] Overton and others, *Production*, p. 175.
[604] Mary Warren, 1673. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 168-9.
[605] (GRO), 1733/105, Thomas Cotton, 1733.
[606] Clifford, 'Knives, Forks and Spoons', in *Elegant Eating*, ed. by Glanville and Young, p. 54.
[607] Pippa Shirley, 'The New Hot drinks' in *Silver*, ed. by Philippa Glanville (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 1999), pp. 36-7, (p. 36).

conclusion of Weatherill that 'china and earthenware were unusual until the middle of the eighteenth century'.[608]

China was decorative and fashionable, and was frequently stored in 'front-stage' rooms to be used by householders and admired by visitors. The first mention of china in the Ludlow probate sample is in the 1683 inventory of Richard Davies, a higher middling rank Ludlow apothecary, whose inventory was assessed at £555.10.00.[609] In Hereford, the first mention of chinaware was in 1712.[610] This was a 'small parcel of chinaware' that was valued at £0.06.00 in the inventory of Anne Edwin, a Hereford spinster. Her inventory, which was assessed at only £17.07.06, implies that she may have lodged in two rooms.[611] Although china remained rare, it was recorded in two 1733 Ludlow inventories belonging to Jacob Davies and Jeremiah Sayce. Both had china in upstairs rooms with pictures and a looking glass.[612] These rooms had a 'front-stage' purpose as they were decorated for private comfort and were suitable to receive guests. The room of Sayce was most likely rented out to wealthy patrons in his inn. The two testators were in unrelated occupations, but came from trading backgrounds and had social standing in their town. Davies and Sayce may have owned china alongside other expressive goods because they 'aspired to a genteel way of life that found its expression in owning, using and displaying the right goods'.[613] Likewise, a higher middling rank maltster in 1742 owned china in his parlour with other semi-durables, earthenware and glass objects.[614] Wealthy tradesmen frequently owned the newest and most fashionable goods. However, by the middle of the eighteenth century in some households, china was losing its exclusivity by being displayed with other less costly objects.

The will of Isabella Sprott, a gentlewoman and a spinster from a prominent Ludlow family, illustrates the sophisticated objects that could be obtained in early modern Ludlow. [615] In 1732, Sprott owned the most fashionable silver articles associated with tea and coffee consumption in the three-town sample. Hot drink equipage in silver was not 'just teapots and

[608] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 8.
[609] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Richard Davies, 1683.
[610] Overton and others believe that much of the china listed in seventeenth-century inventories may have been tin-glazed earthenware, as the assessor was unclear on what he was valuing. Overton and others, *Production,* p. 103.
[611] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Anne Edwin, 1712.
[612] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, AA20, Jacob Davies, 1733; (HRO), AA20, Jeremiah Sayce, 1733.
[613] Snodin, 'Introduction' in *Design and the Decorative Arts*, ed. by Snodin and Styles, p. 180.
[614] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Samuel Powys, 1742.
[615] The sisters of Isabella Sprott married doctors.

kettles, but cream boats, milk jugs, spoons, sugar tongs, basins and even tea urns'.[616] Sprott broke up her collection to give items to family members. She had owned a 'tea kettle, lamp, and sugar dish': these were 'very fashionable items'.[617] Sprott also owned 'a silver coffee pot, a silver teapot and a slop basin'.[618] Silver teaware in wealthy households was highly desirable. The collection of silver indicated her wealth and suggested that she entertained women of similar status; as Berg observes: 'tea drinking played a part in the ritual of visiting, with a recognizable ceremony'.[619] Rachel Kennedy understands the connection between women and tea, and claims tea was served by the mistress at a small intimate table. This caused some contemporary writers to 'view the taking of tea as a symbol of unwelcome female power and influence'.[620] The extraordinary set of teaware owned by Sprott was the exception to the rule in the three towns. Nevertheless, Table 3.17 shows that although the majority of middle ranks in the sample did not own silver equipment, these objects were collected by some.

Table 3.17 The number and percentage of inventories and wills that recorded silver eating and drinking objects in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample between 1662- 1753

Inventories	**No. in sample n =** [621]	**No. of documents**	**% of documents**
Ludlow	83	17	20.48
Hereford	138	19	13.76
Tewkesbury	48	9	18.75
Wills	**n =**	**No.**	**%**
Ludlow	99	11	11.11
Hereford	113	11	9.73
Tewkesbury	82	16	19.51

[616] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, p. 163.
[617] Anthony Sale, 'Ownership and Use of Silver in Gloucestershire, 1660-1740', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 113 (1995), 121-150, (p. 131).
[618] (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, Isabella Sprott.
[619] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, p. 230.
[620] Rachel Kennedy, 'Taking Tea', in *Design and the Decorative Arts*, ed. by Snodin and Styles, pp. 252-3, (p. 253).
[621] n= total number of inventories and wills from the three town sample with the innholders removed.

Hereford had the lowest ownership of silver, though the reason for this is unclear. There were many wealthy urban families in Ludlow and some of these, like the Sprott family, have been represented in the sample. It is likely that Hereford may have had fewer wealthy families. The Tewkesbury sample also had a higher percentage of silver ownership. Nevertheless, the percentages of silver in the three town sample were far less than the craft and dealing trades of Weatherill at 22% and 43%. The percentage of silver in the Hereford sample was similar to the 13% owned by the yeomen of Weatherill. As yeomen were not known for accumulating expressive goods, this suggests that Hereford residents possibly could not afford to invest in silver.

Silver ownership in the three towns did change over the time period. Inventories from the last quarter of the seventeenth century were more likely to list significant quantities of display silver, mainly in the form of plates, tankards, condiment containers and cutlery. This was predominately owned by the higher middling ranks, professionals and some wealthy tradesmen. Silver was valued as a traditional commodity that illustrated status. Before the availability of new fashionable goods, silver 'encapsulated notions of luxury and excess', and provided some financial security because of its intrinsic value.[622] Weatherill argues that fluctuations in the ownership of silver could have varied with family needs and prosperity.[623] An example of the types of goods that were owned is illustrated in the inventory of Ralph Goodwyn. He owned two beakers described as 'two mother pearle caps tipt with silver and silver foote, silver and gilt cans.' He also had two porringers, one egg cupp, and a dozen silver spoons.[624] However, valued at £10, the silver of Goodwyn was worth only 20% of the £50 of silver plate owned by Richard Davies.[625] This higher middling rank Ludlow apothecary and professional owned the largest amount out of the three-town sample and may have been operating as a type of banker.

The results from Table 3.17 agree with the research of Sale on Gloucestershire. He concludes that ownership of silver amongst the middling ranks was low and usually comprised of 'a few useful eating and drinking items'.[626] The majority of the middling ranks in the three town sample only owned one or two pieces of silver, usually spoons, especially by the second and

[622] Ann Eatwell and Pippa Shirley, 'Collecting'; Celina Fox, 'Silver in Paintings', in *Silver*, ed. by Glanville, pp. 114-118, (p. 114); pp. 128-32, (p. 129).
[623] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, pp. 29-30.
[624] (TNA), PROB 2/689, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663.
[625] (HRO), AA20, Richard Davies, 1682.
[626] Sale, 'Ownership and Use of Silver', p. 127.

third decade of the eighteenth century. The quantity of silver that was owned had fallen compared with the large amounts of display silver possessed by their forefathers. Silver spoons could represent a form of investment against hard times amongst the lower middling ranks. For example, the lesser ranking tradesman George Wright, a nail maker, had just one spoon valued at £0.03.00.[627]

Few of the middle ranks in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury owned a matched tea or coffee set, and the majority of serving equipment was made from a mixture of materials. For example, Robert Gordon a higher middling rank Hereford grocer possessed 'four china coffee dishes and four saucers', but his coffee pot was made from copper, and was valued at £0.02.00.[628] Philippa Glanville claims that it was understood in the seventeenth century that tin or copper coffeepots tainted the coffee; Gordon was still using his copper coffee pot in 1742. Perhaps, the coffee pot was old or the knowledge that copper corrupts coffee was not known in provincial areas. Mary Bee, an elderly Hereford widow, owned an assortment of hot drink utensils made from various materials. She owned six china cups and saucers valued at £0.02.06, a coffee pot of an unspecified material worth £0.03.06, an earthenware teapot valued at £0.00.04, and a glass cup at £0.00.01 together with some tea tongs, a sieve at £0.07.00 and a mahogany hand board at £0.09.06.[629] The goods of Bee illustrate that it was not only gentlewomen that could take part in the polite consumption of new hot drinks: equipage was available in cheaper alternatives to silver. The example of Bee shows the importance of participation. Weatherill suggests there was more to the drinking of tea and other hot beverages than refreshment. 'China and the hot drinks utensils had social functions as well as associations with new forms of domestic behaviour'.[630] Bee had the capability to provide refreshments to friends and visitors, since she possessed sufficient teaware for up to six people. Her inventory implies that, like many widows, she lodged in one or two rooms, most likely in one of the homes of her children.[631] There were no items of furniture or cookware recorded just some clothing and her hot drink equipage. Whether Bee was able to continue participating in the hot drink culture would have depended on her circumstances, but her goods suggest she had done so at some time: enough for her to keep her teaware, if only as an heirloom.

[627] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, AA20, George Wright, 1693.
[628] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Robert Gordon, 1733.
[629] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, Mary Bee, 1752.
[630] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 189.
[631] Dobson, *Herefordshire 1700-1820* <http://herefordshire1757-1820.typepad.co.uk/> Accessed [12 November 2012]

The use of glass drinking vessels

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was not only hot drinks that were fashionable beverages. The drinking of wine and spirits in translucent glasses was seen as genteel and desirable, and as these goods became more popular and attainable they lost their exclusivity. Despite the low cost of individual glasses they remained rare in the homes of the middling ranks. Occasionally, a single glass or small numbers of drinking glasses were recorded; sometimes the only reference to glassware was the cupboard it was stored in. There were two mentions of glass cases in the Ludlow sample, the low value of which suggests that some of these items were from the bottom end of the market. Richard Collier, a Ludlow mason owned 'one glass case and four glasses'; these were valued at only £0.00.08.[632] In Hereford, three glass cases were recorded, one of which was listed as 'twiggen' in *The Black Swan.*[633] There were three glass cases in the Tewkesbury sample, but these were valued with other goods in the inventory of a maltster.[634] Glass cases were items that were used during the last quarter of the seventeenth century in 'front-stage' rooms. When glass items increased in number and diversity during the eighteenth century, everyday glassware was relegated to 'back-stage' rooms, their display purpose secondary to their use. The ownership of drinking glasses was low over the period, as illustrated by Table 3.18.

Table 3.18 The number and percentage of inventories that recorded drinking glasses in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample between 1662- 1753

Male	**No. in sample n =**	**No. of documents**	**% of documents**
Ludlow	69	9	13.04
Hereford	107	5	4.67
Tewkesbury	40	4	10.00
Female	**n =**	**No.**	**%**
Ludlow	22	0	0
Hereford	39	2	5.12
Tewkesbury	11	2	18.18

[632] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Richard Collier, 1672.
[633] Twiggen was wickerwork. *The Goods and Chattels*, ed. by Moore, p. 335; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Thomas Price, 1672.
[634] Charles Brush, 1692, *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 245-6.

The very small Ludlow sample had the highest percentage of male ownership, followed by Tewkesbury. Female ownership was also low, although the Tewkesbury sample had the highest percentage, probably due to the small number of female testators. The ownership of drinking glasses must have been significantly higher than Table 3.18 implies, but these common and inexpensive items became increasingly overlooked by probate assessors by the end of the period. Consequently, evidence of drinking glass ownership in the three towns is too slight to draw definite conclusions about the consumption of this commodity.

Overton et al maintain that glass vessels and bottles 'were not common until the last quarter of the seventeenth century and were relatively expensive'. English glass became available in 1685 when George Ravenscroft produced his new flint glass, but the price had not fallen.[635] Glassware was not common in the three-town sample possibly due to perceptions held by the middling ranks that glass was a luxury item. Berg stresses that a large quantity of glassware was 'sold at modest prices' and that by the end of the period, there was a whole range of glassware available.[636] This is illustrated by the assortment and variety of glassware that was listed in the 1765 sale of the household goods of Mrs Walcot in Ludlow. The sale catalogue may also importantly indicate the deficiencies of early modern inventory data. It is impossible to say whether she owned a particularly rich array of goods that inventories so often omitted or glossed over, but she had patty pans, stands, salvers, sweetmeat dishes, assorted drinking glasses, jelly glasses and a glass ladle.[637] Many of the items owned by Walcot were decorative non-essentials.

The sales catalogue suggests that dining for some members of the middling ranks during the mid-eighteenth century had become a leisurely and luxurious pastime. The array of equipment and refinement found at some middling rank tables in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury would not have been out of place in London. However, this was in a minority of households, illustrating one of the main differences between the metropolis and the provinces: the smaller proportion of households that were able to live politely and luxuriously in their homes.

Conclusion

The analysis has revealed that the wealthier gentry and higher middling ranks in the Ludlow,

[635] Overton and others, *Production*, p. 105.
[636] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, p. 123.
[637] (SA), 151/4262, The Sale of the Household Goods and Furniture of the late Mrs Walcot, 1765.

Hereford and Tewkesbury sample were found to be the groups most likely to adopt polite modes of behaviour. Those among them who valued status may have recognised the cultural capital to be gained through participating in polite living and the ownership of goods. The statistics would seem to support this, as they show that the social group with the highest number of consumers was that of the higher middling ranks, many of whom would have been prosperous tradesmen and professionals lacking the status of the gentry. These people owned new and fashionable goods and used their parlours as 'front-stage' rooms to exhibit their taste and status.

Contrastingly, the sample also shows that the bulk of the intermediate and lower middling ranks lacked social connections and wealth, retained traditional homes and seemed more unwilling, or unable to adopt London customs and new goods. This pattern of ownership in the three-town sample echoes the study of Cornish inventories by Overton et al, even though the regions were otherwise dissimilar. The distance from London may have been an important factor in the dissemination of metropolitan culture, though new ideas about conduct were possibly seen as too radical for traditional communities.

The importance of the parlour as a 'front-stage' area has been argued here. Higher percentages of Ludlow gentlemen owned parlours than in the other two town samples, reflecting the theory that quality families were attracted to Ludlow. In Hereford, the testators who had parlours came from a variety of backgrounds, including lesser ranking tradesmen with low-value movables. Parlours were sometimes used for storing trade goods securely, indicating that many of the middling ranks in Hereford may not have lived a polite lifestyle to the same extent as those in Ludlow, possibly due to financial constraints and conservative taste. Tewkesbury had the least number of parlours recorded in the sample, but the locally-named 'fore street chambers' appeared to perform parlour-like functions. Tradesmen owned many of these rooms, which were used for eating and drinking and for the storage of domestic goods.

This study has tested the assertion by Weatherill that parts of the Midland region, represented here by Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury, was backward in adopting behavioural and cultural changes relating to consumption. It also investigated whether middling rank behaviour could be altered by the ownership of new expressive goods. An analysis of the ownership of these goods, using the three-town probate sample, suggests that the rate of

consumption was slower than that of the area of the Midlands studied by Weatherill.[638] This means that the three towns may have experienced a slower rate of domestic behavioural change than the national average. However, this chapter has revealed how middling rank behaviour was altered by the ownership of new expressive goods, especially amongst the higher middling ranks. Polite, metropolitan culture was being embraced in this area, both in domestic habits and in the employment of new decorative goods. In particular, the analysis has shown how polite behaviour was developed and expressed through the use of 'front-stage' rooms as sites of display for new possessions, and how the use of traditional objects declined. A more cautious and uneven degree of change was seen amongst the intermediate and lower middling ranks who represented the majority of middling sorts, and therefore statistically depressed the rate of progress. Nevertheless, there were notable exceptions, and polite and fashionable society was clearly developing amongst middling ranks in the three towns. The next chapter will analyse the activities of the 'back stage' areas of the home and contrast them with those of the 'front stage'.

Chapter Four: 'Back-stage' -the heart of the house

Introduction

The previous chapter examined 'front-stage' rooms and considered how important place and status were, and how this corresponded with levels of ownership of goods within the home. It analysed the range of expressive goods in parlours, halls and dining rooms, concentrating on the types of eating and drinking utensils that were used. This chapter contrastingly studies the 'back-stage,' or utilitarian areas of the home: kitchens, bedrooms, storage areas and places of production. Firstly, it investigates rooms used in the production of food and drink in the three town sample. The main cooking area was located in the kitchen; other functions of this room are also analysed. Secondly, it considers the variety of bedrooms that were found in the sample, and the use of closets. The furnishings and movables are also examined to determine the importance of place and status in these 'back-stage' rooms which formed a part of everyday life. Thirdly, it examines places of production and storage of goods as these are significant indicators of changing behaviour and status.

[638] Table 8:2, Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 184.

There are a number of studies that have analysed goods listed in early modern inventories, but the subject of how 'back-stage' spaces were actually used only seems to have been touched upon briefly. Generally studies of kitchens examine the sorts of cooking equipment and paraphernalia located in these spaces although this is changing; historians are now looking beyond the equipment of the kitchen to examine the culinary traditions and eating behaviour of the household.[639] There also appears to be a deficit of research on the function of bedchambers as living spaces; until now the focus has been on types of beds, their furnishings and their monetary value.[640] This chapter intends to redress this, and will additionally investigate aspects of the behaviour of the middling ranks, and whether this was more informal in 'back-stage' rooms.

Location and function were the chief distinctions between 'front-stage' and 'back-stage' areas. Bedrooms were perceived as intimate, kitchens as utilitarian and generally rear rooms were smaller and less desirable.[641] This chapter evaluates 'back-stage' spaces using the evidence of probate documents to examine the growing specialisation of rooms and their uses. Movement towards such demarcation evidences the gradual but growing interest of the middling ranks in the separation of domestic chores from the polite and leisured 'front-stage' areas. However, examining 'back-stage' rooms is problematic as these areas of the house had many purposes which often exceed their 'back-stage' uses. This illustrates that the Goffman theory cannot always provide a suitable framework for room use.[642]

Domesticity and the efficient discharge of domestic chores were important to middling rank culture.[643] This was partly due to the growing expectations of this social group regarding raised standards of personal and household comfort, cleanliness and presentation. In the early modern period, these basic requirements were labour intensive and involved servants or family members. By the eighteenth century the effective running of a household increasingly

[639] For example, older studies list the types of equipment, whilst recent studies analytically explore the possible meanings behind these items. See Karin Dannehl, 'Object Biographies' and Sara Pennell, 'Mundane Materiality', in *History and Material Culture*, ed. by Karen Harvey (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), pp.123-38, 173-91; Pennell, 'Pots and Pans History', *Journal of Design History*, 11, 3 (1998), 201-215; Rachael Field, *Irons in the Fire* (Marlborough: Crowood Press, 1984); J. Seymour Lindsay, *Iron and Brass Implements of the English House* (London: Tiranti Ltd, 1970).
[640] See Jessica Kross, 'Mansions, Men, Women, and the Creation of Multiple Publics in Eighteenth-Century British North America', *Journal of Social History*, 33, 2 (1999), 385-408.
[641] Sophie Sarin, 'The Floorcloth and Other Floor Coverings in the London Domestic Interior 1700-1800,' *Journal of Design History*, 18, 2 (2005), 133-145, (pp. 139-40).
[642] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 32.
[643] Rosemary Sweet, *The English Town 1680-1840, Government, Society and Culture* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), p. 185.

operated ‘back-stage’ as such activities came to be regarded as impolite and unsuitable for the ‘front-stage’ domain. Early modern houses did not have separate rooms set aside for personal washing or toilet facilities. Instead basins, ewers, chamber pots and close stools were employed to keep a sufficient level of cleanliness. In the majority of houses these were the responsibility of servants. However, in households that could not afford servants these tasks became the duty of the wife; some household tasks such as washing household linen and clothes were major operations. It is interesting to note the difficulties of running a house without the benefit of piped water and a bathroom, but it is not the main focus of this study. Ultimately, the kitchen was the most important room for daily activities, whether this was for cooking, washing or informal sitting and eating.

Kitchens

Cooking had not always been confined to the ‘back-stage’; previously it had taken place in the ‘front-stage’ rooms of the hall or the parlour. The less furniture the room possessed, the more uses it could have, and cooking could be done in any room with an open fire. During the early modern period the fuel in the fire place changed; the scarcity of wood led to coal becoming the main fuel in domestic hearths. Trinder and Cox argue that the use of coal was so commonplace it was rarely listed in inventories. To burn coal, iron grates and equipment like tongs and fire shovels were required.[644] Overton et al suggest that previously wood was burnt on the floor of the hearth, or on iron bars supported by andirons. The move to burning coal meant that the design and construction of flues and chimneys needed to change as greater ventilation was required.[645] In most households cooking equipment consisted of spits, and a device to suspend pots over the flames. Vessels with iron legs could stand in the ashes, and flat-bottomed pots could rest on heated metal plates. The apparatus around the fire, such as the dog wheel, the crane, the jack, various spits and pothooks were heavy, bulky objects that protruded into the room. The kitchen became necessary as cooking equipment became more specialized.

Developments in functional rooms where made possible by the insertion of chimneys that allowed smaller rooms to be created and furnished with domestic goods according to their particular use. The need for ‘back-stage’ areas developed as ‘front-stage’ rooms evolved to

[644] *Miners and Mariners of the Severn Gorge*, ed. by Barrie Trinder and Nancy Cox (London: Philimore, 2000), p. 57.
[645] Mark Overton and others, *Production and Consumption in English Households 1600-1750* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), p. 89.

become more polite and sophisticated with permanent furniture and soft furnishings susceptible to damage. Processing of food such as cleaning, plucking, and gutting, as well as cooking, with the heat and the spitting of fat, were seen as incompatible with polite living and increasingly confined 'back-stage'. By the eighteenth century, large-scale cooking in the main reception room became uncommon in polite households, although chafing dishes and gridirons could be located in these rooms for keeping food warm or for cooking small or specialised foods. An increase in the standard of living for many people was 'reflected both in the materials used to build middle class homes and in the objects that filled them'.[646]

Both Priestley and Corfield, and Overton et al record parlours and kitchens from the early seventeenth century. Table 4.1 demonstrates that despite the large Kent sample of Overton et al, there were higher percentages of parlours and kitchens in Norwich; there is a noticeable percentage difference between the two towns that appears to be down to more than regional variation. It may be that probate assessors did not often list rooms in Kentish inventories. Within the Kent sample, slightly higher percentages of parlours were recorded than kitchens, and this increased after 1660.[647] The sample of Priestley and Corfield illustrates a different trend in Norwich. While initially there were higher percentages of parlours than kitchens in the 1605-29 sample, this changed from 1630 to 1730 when there were around 30-40% more kitchens listed in the homes of testators than parlours.[648]

Table 4.1 A comparison of the percentages of parlours and kitchens recorded in Kent and Norwich inventories by Overton et al and Priestly and Corfield, 1600-1749

Kent	**1600-29**	**1630-59**	**1660-89**	**1690-1719**	**1720-49**
Total no. of Invs	727	511	846	537	207
% of Parlours	7.29	10.37	5.67	8.56	25.12
% of Kitchens	7.15	9.89	4.37	5.40	14.00
Norwich	**1605-29**	**1630-54**	**1655-79**	**1680-1704**	**1705-30**
Total no. of Invs	148	127	86	179	211
% of Parlours	66.22	77.50	48.84	56.42	55.92
% of Kitchens	64.19	85.04	95.35	93.30	99.53

[646] Kirstin Olsen, *Daily Life in 18th Century England* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), p. 85.
[647] Table 6:3, Overton and others, *Production,* p. 125.
[648] Table 4, Ursula Priestley and P. J. Corfield, 'Rooms and Room Use in Norwich Housing, 1580-1730', *Post Medieval Archaeology*, 16 (1982), 93-123, (p. 102).

The three-town sample is not directly comparable with the research of Overton et al and Priestly and Corfield due to the earlier time period examined; also the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample examines much smaller numbers of inventories. Table 4:2 shows there were higher percentages of parlours than kitchens recorded in Ludlow in the three town sample between 1662 and 1753, and the Ludlow sample had the lowest percentage of kitchens overall. In Hereford there were slightly higher percentages of kitchens than parlours. The Tewkesbury sample also had higher percentages of kitchens than parlours although Tewkesbury had fewer parlours recorded than the other two towns.[649] The higher percentages of parlours in Ludlow may point towards some of the testators having, or aspiring to, a more genteel lifestyle. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 indicate that the growth of parlours and kitchens within middling rank homes were subject to regional differences; the development of these rooms may have been influenced by the status and needs of the testators.

Table 4.2 The percentages of parlours and kitchens recorded in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury inventory sample, 1662-1753

	Ludlow n = 91		**Hereford** n = 146		**Tewkesbury** n = 51	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Parlours	14	15.38	22	15.06	3	26.01
Kitchens	27	29.67	51	34.93	21	47.72

Parlours have been examined in the previous chapter; kitchens, unlike parlours, were an essential part of the house. Historians have written about the inexpensive and utilitarian nature of kitchen equipment, how it was used and what it meant to its owners.[650] Some objects were given special significance and became treasured items, often bearing the initials of their owners. David Sutton and Michael Hernandez who studied twentieth-century oral history suggest that kitchen implements 'acquired an almost totemic personal and family history so that they could not be sold, but only passed down from one generation to the next'.[651] Although their theory was applied to the twentieth century, such notions may be applicable to the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as evidenced by a number of

[649] The percentages of parlours were taken from Table 3.5; percentages of kitchens were taken from Table 4.2.
[650] Pennell, 'Pots and Pans History', 201-215; Dannehl, 'Object Biographies' and Pennell, 'Mundane Materiality', 173-91.
[651] David Sutton and Michael Hernandez, 'Voices in the Kitchen: Cooking Tools as Inalienable Possessions', *Oral History*, 35, 2 (2007), 67-76, (p. 75).

mainly female wills which single out kitchen equipment and vessels. Some items, such as large brass kettles, may have been bequeathed for their high resale value, or as family mementos. Table 4.3 shows the number of testators who bequeathed kitchenware in the three town sample.

Table 4.3 The number and percentage of testators that bequeathed cooking implements in wills, 1662-1753

	Ludlow n = 106		**Hereford** n = 122		**Tewkesbury** n = 59	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Men	4	3.77	3	2.45	4	6.77
Women	3	2.83	3	4.91	2	3.38

The evidence from the Hereford will sample supports the argument that a higher number of female testators singled out kitchenware for specific bequests despite female wills being in the minority.[652] However, two Tewkesbury wills provide surprising insights into how kitchen utensils were viewed by male testators; both men demonstrated an almost feminised concern for kitchenware. William Mince was a tanner from a family with a long connection to Tewkesbury. His bequests included a large collection of cooking and serving ware. He gave his three sons, along with other items: '2 brass pans, 2 brass kettles, 1 little brass pot, 5 dishes of pewter, a mortar and pestle and 1 iron dripping pan'. Mince seems to have invested these items with significance far greater than their monetary worth: perhaps they had formed part of the dowry of his wife.[653] The wealthy yeoman Richard Mansel bequeathed to his son, 'the biggest kettle'; this object had sentimental value as the godmother of his son gave it to Mansel.[654] Some of the kitchenware that was recorded in wills was personalised with the initials of the testator or a relation reinforcing family connections and memories.[655] The wills of two Tewkesbury men illustrate that affluent or comfortably off individuals may have singled out items of cookware for specific bequests because of sentimental attachment. Table 4.4 records the locations of cooking equipment in the inventory sample from the three towns.

[652] In the Ludlow sample, there were 80 male wills and 26 female. In the Hereford sample, there were 72 wills and 50 female wills. In Tewkesbury, there were 37 male wills and 22 female wills.
[653] William Mince, 1663, *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories, 1601-1700*, ed. by Bill Rennison and Cameron Talbot (Tewkesbury: Tewkesbury Historical Society, 1996), p. 137.
[654] Gloucester, Gloucester Record Office, (Ever after (GRO)), Will, 1703/51, p.1, Richard Mansel, 1703.
[655] For example, Elizabeth Wight, 1693. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 263-4.

Table 4.4 The rooms in which cooking equipment was recorded in the inventories of the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1653

	n = rooms listed in invs		**Hall**		**Back rooms**		**Kitchens**		**Unspecified Rooms for cooking**	
Total No. of Invs	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ludlow 91	27	29.67	2	2.19	0	0	27	29.67	62	68.13
Hereford 146	67	45.89	4	2.73	0	0	51	34.93	91	62.32
Tewkesbury 51	26	50.98	3	5.88	1	1.96	21	41.17	26	50.98

The previous chapter established which rooms were 'front-stage' eating and drinking spaces, but it became apparent that many of the inventories in the sample did not list rooms. This means that the actual number of households that had specialised rooms is higher than Table 4.4 states. It illustrates that about 30% of properties in the Ludlow and Hereford samples had kitchens, whilst in the Tewkesbury sample nearly 50% of inventories listed kitchens. Although many less affluent households used one main room for cooking and living throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the majority of people had ceased this practice by the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The study of seventeenth-century London by Brown led him to conclude that many of the middle ranks had specialised rooms by 1612. Cooking occurred in the kitchen, sleeping took place on the upper floors, and butteries, pantries and yards contained equipment and general lumber.[656] In the three towns, situated on the periphery of fashionable life, it took longer to adopt metropolitan behavioural changes. The ownership of a kitchen did not necessarily mean all cooking took place in this room. The inventory of Charles Brush, a maltster and a lesser ranking tradesman from a long established Tewkesbury fishing family had in his kitchen in 1692, '1 iron pot, 1 warming pan, 1 dripping pan, 1 rack with weightes and cord, 3 spitts, fire barr with fender, and iron cheeks, 1 skimer, basting spoons and flesh folk'. Pots were heated and meat was roasted in this room. Brush also utilised the hearth in his hall as

[656] Frank E. Brown, 'Continuity and Change in the Urban House: Developments in Domestic Space Organisation in Seventeenth-Century London', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 28, 3 (1986), 558-590, (p. 587).

there was a 'frying pan, 2 fire shovels, 1 payre of tonges, and one iron plate'.[657] The fire in the hall may have been used for faster and more convenient cooking.

The inventory sample suggests there were changes in the types of vessels used for cooking during the period. The major reason for this was the change in fuel; this meant that in many households cooking took place over a smaller iron grate, which burnt coals rather than a larger wood burning fire. This led to changes in household gadgetry and, combined with the availability of new types of food and drink, led to the replacement of traditional cooking and eating methods. The three-town sample supports the research of Overton et al which suggests that as the eighteenth century progressed, flat-bottomed pots and pans replaced three-legged utensils like the cauldron and skillet. However, they insist this was due to the introduction of the kitchen range.[658] Evidence of this type of equipment cannot be found in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample. There were two mentions of stoves in 1693; these were in a kitchen, and in a 'great chamber'. The first belonged to Benetiza Bosworth, a lower middling rank spinster.[659] The second, belonging to Ann Morton, a gentry Hereford spinster, would have been used for heating the large reception room; these were objects with low monetary value.[660] Additionally, these households owned traditional roasting equipment for an open fire. Weatherill had examples of ranges in her inventory sample, but she suggests they were only beginning to be installed in wealthier households by 1700, and were still uncommon in 1730.[661] In the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample the use of saucepans may have been due to the increase in ownership of gridirons. These provided a stable surface over the fire to rest pots, and had been used at least from the second half of the seventeenth century. The quantity of cooking equipment hanging above the fire and the metal plates over the flames eventually led towards the whole fire being encased in iron, resulting in a range. However, this only developed towards the end of the eighteenth century in the provinces.

As was seen in chapter 3, the ownership of serving and cooking vessels increased amongst the wealthy during the period in the three-town study. Rich tradesmen often illustrated their social position by owning significant amounts of all types of domestic goods as a visible

[657] Charles Brush, 1692. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 244-5.
[658] Overton and others, *Production*, p. 100.
[659] A stove was valued at £0.10.00 with some wood. Hereford, Hereford Record Office, (Ever after (HRO)), Inventory, AA20, pp.1- 2, Benetiza Bosworth, 1693.
[660] This stove was valued at £0.03.00. (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp.1-2, Ann Morton 1693.
[661] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), p. 149.

statement of their prosperity. Wealthy individuals could afford labour-saving cooking devices, for example, Thomas Hackluit, a higher middling rank captain and bachelor owned: 'one apple roster, one gridypan, one jack with weights, one frier pan' in 1663.[662] His affluence combined with the extra income he earned from his lodgers allowed him to invest in new cooking technologies. The small amount of specialised cooking equipment recorded in inventories may be due to its low monetary value and everyday nature. Numerous implements were described as 'iron ware about the fyer'.[663] The majority of cooking apparatus that the middling ranks owned in the three-town sample would not have changed significantly in the one hundred year period, and this equipment would have been familiar to previous generations. Similar items to the 'brass pots and pans, furnace pan, spits, andirons, and dripping pans' recorded in the 1596 will and 1608 inventory of Edward Corbett, esquire of Longnor were still being used in many houses in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury in 1760 and beyond.[664] However, some innovations like saucepans, which were new in the late seventeenth century, were being adopted. The slow rate of change in cooking equipment possibly highlights the lack of affluence of many of the middling ranks in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample. Table 4.5 demonstrates the variety of cooking technologies that were listed in the inventory sample.

Table 4.5 Some of the types of fire cooking equipment recorded in the inventory sample of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury, 1662-1753

	Ludlow n = 91	**Hereford** n = 146		**Tewkesbury** n = 51	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Crane/Sway [665]	4	4.39	4	2.73	3	5.88
Jack [666]	9	9.89	34	23.28	8	15.68
Gridiron [667]	3	3.29	15	10.27	2	3.92

[662] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp.1-2, Thomas Hackluit, 1663.
[663] Mary Warren, 1673. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 167-9.
[664] Will (made 1596) and inventory (made 1608) of Edward Corbett, esquire of Longnor. Documents provided by *The Ludlow Historical Society*. The Corbets of Longnor were members of the lower gentry that were an established part of Ludlow society. David Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow* (Ludlow: Merlin Unwin, 1999), p. 113.
[665] The crane or sway was a rectangular bar of iron in the chimney, which moved on a pivot. This allowed cooking vessels to be suspended over the fire. *The Goods and Chattels of our forefathers: Frampton Cotterell and District Probate Inventories, 1539-1804*, ed. by John S. Moore (London and Chichester: Philimore, 1976), p. 300.
[666] The jack was a rotary device placed in front of the fire so as to expose every part of the meat to be roasted successfully. *The Goods and Chattels*, ed. by Moore, p. 312.
[667] The gridiron was also known as a brand iron; these were iron grids used to support cooking vessels over an open fire. *The Goods and Chattels*, ed. by Moore, p. 294.

Furnace [668]	0	0	17	11.64	3	5.88
Frying pan	11	12.08	24	16.43	13	25.90
Posnet or Skillet[669]	6	6.59	40	27.39	5	9.80
Chaffing dish [670]	6	6.59	9	6.16	1	1.96
Saucepan	2	2.19	7	4.79	0	0

The Ludlow sample shows that skillets ceased to be listed after 1693, but there were only two mentions of the saucepans that superseded them: in 1722/3 and 1742/3.[671] In the Hereford sample, skillets remained in use for much longer: they were recorded in around 30% of households, and were still being listed in 1732/33. It is possible that these were popular amongst the lower middling ranks in Hereford because they were economical and allowed small amounts of food to be cooked. Saucepans were first recorded in 1702 and were consistently described until the end of the period. These two methods of cooking existed side by side amongst the Hereford middling ranks. The Tewkesbury sample revealed that skillets and saucepans were inconsistently recorded. Skillets were recorded in 1662/3, and saucepans were listed once in 1702.[672] Table 4.6 investigates the metals that were used to make cooking and serving ware.

Table 4.6 The types of kitchen metal ware recorded in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1753

	Ludlow n = 91		**Hereford** n = 146		**Tewkesbury** n = 51	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Pewter	70	76.92	128	87.67	34	66.66
Brass	58	63.73	85	58.21	27	52.94
Tin	20	21.97	24	16.43	6	11.76
Iron	40	43.95	63	43.15	14	27.45

[668] The furnace was a large metal pot, used for brewing or boiling. The term seems to have been used interchangeably with 'boyler'. *Yeomen and Colliers in Telford: Probate Inventories for Dawley, Lilleshall, Wellington and Wrockwardine, 1660-1750*, ed. by Barrie Trinder and Jeff Cox (London: Philimore, 1980), p. 462.
[669] Posnets or skillets were 'small metal cooking pots with a handle and three short legs, which enabled them to stand in a fire, forerunners of the modern saucepan'. *The Goods and Chattels*, ed. by Moore, p. 321
[670] A chaffing dish was a vessel 'fixed above a transportable brazier and used for keeping food hot. [It was] the ancestor of the modern hot- plate'. *The Goods and Chattels*, ed. by Moore, p. 297.
[671] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, Richard Neathway, 1722; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, Mary Pearce, 1743.
[672] (GRO), Inventory, 1702/157, p.1, John Hannus, 1702.

Copper	3	3.2%	5	3.42	2	3.92

Traditional pots of brass and iron are included in Table 4.6. These could have been cauldrons or kettles, but the majority of those were included with brass or iron of 'all sorts'. Weatherill maintains that there were regional variations in the shape of these articles.[673] Pennell states these large vessels had a higher monetary value than other kitchenware, probably due to their metal weight, and were more likely to be listed by the probate assessors.[674] These large cauldrons were traditional items for cooking used at every social level, but especially amongst the poor. They had two ears close to the rim from which the pot could be suspended over the hearth, or they stood over the fire.[675] It was a clean and economical way of providing large amounts of hot food. Puddings and vegetables could also be cooked alongside the meat in a large pot.

Large amounts of serving equipment were made from pewter. The types of pewter tableware have been discussed in the previous chapter. It was displayed in kitchens, being located on shelves, on dressers, and occasionally on side tables. The popularity of pewter may suggest an awareness of appearances and outward show.

Brass was the second most popular metal for serving and cookware in the inventory samples from Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury. This metal had a lower display function than pewter, and it was cheaper. The probate assessors in Ludlow and Tewkesbury occasionally divided brass into the categories of kettle brass and pot brass, kettle brass being more valuable.[676] Objects like posnets and chaffing dishes were also frequently made from this material. The advantage of brass was that it was a poor conductor; this meant the handle remained cool to the touch. The inhabitants from the Ludlow sample owned larger quantities of this metal. Bristol was the centre for brass production until the last quarter of the eighteenth century because it was near the raw materials of 'calamine from the Mendips and copper from Cornwall'.[677]

[673] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, pp. 147-8.
[674] Pennell, 'Pots and Pans', p. 211.
[675] Overton and others, Production, pp. 98-9.
[676] The landlord of *The Crown* in Ludlow had kettle brass at £0.16.11, and pot brass at £0.15.00. (HRO), Inventory, AA20 p.2, Richard Scott, 1685; an inventory of a Tewkesbury widow listed 'five score and six pound of pott brass at 5d a pound, £2.04.02 and sixteen pound of kettle brass at 9d a pound, £0.12.0'. Mary Warren, 1673. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 167-9.
[677] Doreen Hopwood, 'Brass-Making, The Brass Industry and Brass Workers in Birmingham', *West Midlands History*, 1 (2012), 4-7, (p. 5).

Functionality and cost possibly influenced which metals were most used in cooking in the Hereford and Tewkesbury sample. Iron was the third most popular metal after brass. The Ludlow and Hereford samples recorded similar fairly high percentages of iron ware, whilst the Tewkesbury sample had the least. Domestic iron hollow ware was produced locally in Coalbrookdale and the Severn Gorge from 1708, and iron works were operating in Staffordshire and in Bringewood near Ludlow from the seventeenth century.[678] Tin grew in popularity during the period, and it began to appear in households during the seventeenth century becoming commonplace after 1700.[679] This was a useful everyday item that did not rust.[680] The first tin plate mill in the area operated at Bringewood works from 1741-2.[681] However, quantities of tin plate were sold by Jacob Davies of Ludlow before 1733.[682] Copper was not commonly used in the kitchen, as illustrated by Table 4.6. The metal came to be used for the new fashionable teakettles, coffee pots and chocolate pots towards the middle of the eighteenth century.[683] Copper was also used to make the flat-bottomed saucepans recorded in the inventory of a Hereford widow in 1722.[684]

The kitchen could be a dangerous place; brass and copper pans, if used with acid food, could create poisonous verdigris. J. Seymour Lindsay claims that people became aware of the dangers of using copper, bell-metal and brass utensils when a pamphlet published in 1755 claimed that these kitchen items were responsible for causing 'palsies, apoplexies, madness and nervous disorders'.[685] There was also the ever-present hazard of fire, scalding and fumes. In an age where food hygiene was not understood, food poisoning was a risk. Along with the perils of eating bad or low quality meats, other adulterations included colouring and disguising the condition of food; contamination by coal dust or dirt was also a risk.[686]

Higher middling rank kitchen use

[678] Trinder, '*The Most Extraordinary District in the World'* (London: Phillimore, 1977), p. 3; *Yeomen and Colliers*, ed. by Trinder and Cox, p. 107.
[679] *Miners and Mariners*, ed. byTrinder and Cox, p. 68.
[680] Pennell, 'Pots and Pans', 209.
[681] *Yeomen and Colliers*, ed. by Trinder and Cox, p. 107.
[682] (HRO), AA20, Jacob Davies, 1733.
[683] A copper coffee pot was recorded in the inventory of the landlord of *The Bull and Castle* in Ludlow. (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1-3, Jeremiah Sayce, 1733; A copper chocolate pot belonged to a Ludlow widow. (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, Mary Pearce, 1743.
[684] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, Mrs Margery Broad, 1722.
[685] Seymour Lindsay, *Iron and Brass*, pp. 26-7.
[686] Peter Brears, *A Taste of History, 10,000 Years of Food in Britain* (London: British Museum Press, 1993), p. 240.

The eighteenth century kitchen was an ambiguous space; whilst clearly functional it blurs the 'front-stage'/'back-stage' distinction. The kitchen of Samuel Powys, a wealthy tradesman, illustrates that this room could have functions unrelated to food preparation and cooking. Apart from the cooking utensils that one would expect to find there was also a clock, two screens and a looking glass.[687] The looking glass had no practical application, and was purely decorative. Screens could have been roasting screens, used to prevent draughts from affecting the fire, or to protect servants or the mistress from the heat and hot fat. It might be argued that a clock was needed to synchronize servants' tasks, but it was also an expensive and decorative object. A clock was recorded in 1772 in the kitchen of a Hereford lesser tradesman. William Packhouse, a brazier, had movables valued at £158.12.08 which mainly consisted of his shop goods of brass, copper and pewter kitchenware, including his sperate and desperate debts of £22. Only the kitchen and the shop were assessed in his inventory and the clock was the single item valued in the kitchen.[688] Weatherill suggests that lesser tradesmen such as Powys owned many expressive and decorative goods but, as the inventory of Packhouse illustrates, others might own only one or two new or fashionable items.[689] Some items found in kitchens, such as the screens seen in the next table, also indicate activities other than domestic chores were taking place.

Table 4.7 The number and percentage of screens in kitchens in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury inventory sample, 1662- 1753

	Ludlow n = 27		**Hereford** n = 67		**Tewkesbury** n = 26	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of Screens	6	22.22	8	11.94	5	19.23

Olsen argues middling rank women and their servants sat by the kitchen fire to sew suggesting that screens may have been necessary to shield the mistress from the heat.[690] The highest percentage of screens was seen in the Ludlow sample, with the lowest in the Hereford sample, suggesting that whilst screens were present in some kitchens they were not a priority. Despite the fact that the kitchen had a number of uses it appeared to be rarely used for

[687] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Samuel Powys, 1742.
[688] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, William Packhouse, 1722.
[689] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 185.
[690] Olsen, *Daily Life*, pp. 86-8.

sleeping: only one bed was recorded in 1673 in the home of a clothworker.[691] However, the warmth of this room may have lent itself to childcare: the room of Thomas Bullock in 1713 recorded a cradle.[692] His ancient rank of yeoman and social standing may have meant that he felt less pressure to conform to higher middling rank notions of polite living. Although kitchens in many households were an essential living space reading did not appear to be a popular activity, books were listed in only two inventories in 1683 and 1733.[693] It is possible these could have been cookery books. Kitchens could also be repositories for old-fashioned furniture; for example, a three legged vernacular chair was listed in the Hereford inventory of a wealthy spinster, who lived in an antiquated property.[694]

Informal drinking and eating could take place in kitchens, even with guests. This has been demonstrated by Vickery in her research on the later eighteenth-century diaries of Elizabeth Shackleton, a Lancashire gentlewoman. The kitchen of Shackleton was the first place of resort for common visitors and it was where her husband John caused social unease by familiarly drinking with his workers. The kitchen could receive subordinates, and 'yet by its very informality be a space of a more intimate nature, to which only very close associates or friends were allowed access'. Gentry guests were occasionally given a meal or spontaneous drinks in this room.[695] The informality of this space is reflected in these various spontaneous activities such as sewing, reading, childcare and informal entertainment, and contrasts with the more regulated practices governing the 'front-stage' areas.

The inventory of Ralph Goodwyn, a Ludlow gentleman and MP, illustrates that large amounts of kitchenware required quantities of storage furniture.[696] His kitchen contained a cupboard, three dressers and a number of shelves. The use of shelves indicates that some households had more utensils than were required for day-to-day use, and that capital had been invested in these items.[697] The ostentatious display of numerous costly pewter vessels

[691] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, Thomas Price, 1673.
[692] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Thomas Bullock, 1713.
[693]This was in the inventories of a Hereford ironmonger and a Ludlow baker/widow: (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp.1-2, Leison Thomas, 1683; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp.1-2, Mrs. Ann Farmer, 1733.
[694] (HRO), AA20, Ann Morton, 1693.
[695]Amanda Vickery, *The Gentlemen's Daughter, Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 206.
[696] London, The National Archives, (Ever after (TNA)), Inventory, PROB 2/689, pp. 1-4, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663.
[697] *Miners and Mariners,* ed. by Trinder and Cox, p. 63.

portrayed the wealth of the householder, and would have made an impressive show. Table 4.8 shows display furniture found in kitchens in the sample.

Table 4.8 Display furniture by number and percentage in kitchens in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury inventory sample, 1662- 1753

	Ludlow n = 27		**Hereford** n = 67		**Tewkesbury** n = 26	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of Display furniture	7	25.92	9	13.43	4	15.38

As many kitchens had shelves and racks or hung cooking paraphernalia on the walls, Table 4.8 is only a partial insight into how objects were stored in the inventory sample. Ludlow had the highest percentage of display furniture and Hereford the lowest. Dressers with shelves seemed to be the most practical type of equipment for storing items in the eighteenth century. Cupboards were used in the late seventeenth century; two types are listed in the Tewkesbury sample: the joined cupboard and the livery cupboard.[698] The dresser, as a piece of display furniture, seems to have evolved from a more primitive piece an example of which is the 'little frame of a board and two shelves' listed in 1663.[699] Trinder and Cox maintain 'dressers with drawers, frequently with pewter frames, became commonplace after 1730', though from a practical point of view, a cupboard would have been a more useful form of storage, protecting cooking and serving ware from soot and dust.[700] This suggests that, even in 'back-stage' areas, easy access and display were of greater importance than cleanliness. Other kitchen contents included kitchenware, tables and seating and, in some households, decorative goods. There was much variation in kitchen contents and their values in the three-town sample; this sometimes, but not always, could be a reflection of the wealth and status of the testators, as will be discussed.

Table 4.9 investigates the average kitchen valuations in the three town sample.

[698] Joined cupboards were listed in the inventories of a chandler and a chapman. Nicolas Palmer, 1663; John Dunford, 1663 *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories,* ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 129-30, 132-3. A livery cupboard was a small container designed to contain the food and drink that people took to their sleeping rooms. *Miners and Mariners,* ed. by Trinder and Cox, p. 63. Listed in the inventory of a Tewkesbury widow/innholder. (GRO), Inventory, 1702/15, p.1, Hannah Guy, 1702.
[699] William Stowt, 1663. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories,* ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 136-7.
[700] *Miners and Mariners,* ed. by Trinder and Cox, p. 63.

Table 4.9 The range of kitchen inventory valuations in £'s from the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1753

Value	Ludlow n = 27	Hereford n = 67	Tewkesbury n = 26
Mean in £	3.77	4.02	2.76
Mode in £.s.d	2.00.00; 2.05.00	1.00.00;1.10.00; 2.00.00;10.10.00	0
Median in £.s.d	3.10.00	2.18.00	2.12.00

In Table 4.9 the Tewkesbury sample of recorded kitchens had the lowest mean and median, possibly reflecting the high proportion of lower middling ranks living in Tewkesbury in the period, many of whom might only have possessed basic equipment and furniture. Table 4.10 demonstrates the highest and lowest valuations of these types of rooms.

Table 4.10 The range of kitchen valuations from the inventory sample of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury, 1662-1753

	Ludlow	Hereford	Tewkesbury
Highest	£21.05.10	£36.09.04	£15.12.02
Lowest	£0.7.6	£0.06.00	£0.12.00

The assessments of kitchen goods in the three towns varied; as already mentioned there was no clear correlation between the wealth and status of the householders and the value of the goods in their kitchens, although as expected the poorest people owned the least goods. In Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury the gentry did not have the most goods in their kitchens, as innholders and wealthy tradesmen had the highest valuations. In Ludlow Jeremiah Sayce, the landlord of *The Bull and Castle* mentioned in chapter 3, had the largest amount of kitchenware and pewter; this matched the volume of china in his 'front-stage rooms', suggesting that his was a thriving hostelry.[701] Sayce owned more cooking and serving ware than any other inn holder even though his inventory revealed him to be of intermediate status.[702] The lowest valuation of kitchenware belonged to a Ludlow tailor, whose sparsely furnished house barely contained the necessities of life. His inventory of only £18.19.06

[701] Tony Hobbs, *The Pubs of Ludlow* (Logaston: Logaston Press, 2002), pp. 93-4.
[702] (HRO), AA20, Jeremiah Sayce, 1733.

reveals that £15 of this was for the lease of his house.[703] Occasionally the low assessment of the kitchen was due to the probate assessor valuing the pewter and brass separately, as in the instance of Thomas Stanley, a Ludlow gentleman. His kitchen was valued at £0.12.00 for a long table and form, a wheel, a chair and a grate, but the kitchen brass and pewter, listed separately, was valued at a substantial £9.05.00.[704]

John Powell, a wealthy Hereford tradesman and tailor, had the highest value of kitchen movables out of the three towns. His uninformative inventory shows that his silver plate was valued with his brass and pewter.[705] The lowest assessment belonged to Walter Merrick, a baker with £0.06.00 of movables in an inventory with a total value of £4.03.00.[706] The sample reveals a wide variation of investment in kitchen movables within the middling ranks of Hereford, more so than in Ludlow. In Tewkesbury, the gentry widow Mary Warren had the most valuable kitchen equipment. She was elderly with a son living abroad, and had leased out her house to live in two rooms. The utensils may have come from more than one household, as she had much more equipment than she needed.[707] The lowest-value kitchen movables belonged to Robert Mopp, consisting only of his 'lower roome being his kitchen and hall'.[708] Mopp was a labourer and a stocking knitter; his lowly occupation placed him at the bottom of the consumption hierarchy and at the bottom of the status hierarchy.

The types of food and drink listed in the three-town sample were not consistently recorded to allow comparison. However, associated with the kitchen were specialized storage areas for food and drink; these were the buttery and the pantry. Traditionally the buttery was used for storing liquor and the pantry for serving ware. Another name for the pantry is the larder. Irene Cieraad maintains that there is a deficit of information on the 'relationship between urban domestic architecture and provisioning'. She suggests whilst Dutch paintings hint at the function of the pantry, we do not know how or whose responsibility it was to ensure these areas were kept well stocked.[709] The storage rooms were subject to regional variations. Table 4.11 records the number of butteries and pantries listed in the three-town sample.

[703] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp.1-2, William Winter, 1722.
[704] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp.1-2, Thomas Stanley, 1713.
[705] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, John Powell, 1742.
[706] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, Walter Merrick, 1723.
[707] Mary Warren, 1673. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 167-9.
[708] Robert Mopp, 1663. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 123-5.
[709] Irene Cieraad, 'The Milkman always Rang Twice: The effects of Changed Provisioning on Dutch Domestic Architecture', in *Buying for the Home*, ed. by David Hussey and Margaret Ponsonby (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 163-181, (pp. 165-6).

Table 4.11 The number and percentage of butteries and pantries in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury inventory sample, 1662- 1753

	Ludlow n = 27		**Hereford** n = 67		**Tewkesbury** n = 26	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of Butteries	4	14.81	12	17.91	5	19.23
No. of Pantries	2	7.40	0	0	1	3.84

The Tewkesbury sample had the highest percentage of butteries; this suggests that tradition there remained strong: butteries date back to the medieval period and were going out of use by the later early modern period. In the three-town sample butteries generally survived in large old properties. In Norwich, butteries had almost disappeared by the eighteenth century and the Tewkesbury sample showed a similarity, with butteries listed until 1692.[710] In the Ludlow sample, one was recorded in 1734.[711] Butteries survived until at least 1723 in the Hereford sample.[712] Few pantries were recorded; the Ludlow sample had the highest percentage.

Large many roomed inns had well-equipped kitchens, whilst lower down the social and economic scale domestic buildings might also serve as alehouses selling beer and ale. The lack of public space in the smaller establishments meant that the kitchen was often used for patrons as it was warmed by the kitchen fire.[713] The sorts of kitchenware used in a refined inn can be seen in the 1733 inventory of Jeremiah Sayce. It contained:

> One iron jack and line and pully and weights and chain, three spitts, one firegrate and cheeks, pair of racks…. three pair of tongs and three shovels, one iron crane, one purgatory, four fire plates…. two frying pans, a pair of bellows, and two iron fenders.[714]

The use of shovels, tongs and grates frequently recorded in the sample illustrates that coal was being used as a fuel. This change from burning wood to coal had occurred by the late

[710] (GRO), Inventory 1692/163, George Chapman, 1692. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 254-5; Priestley and Corfield, p. 110.
[711] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp.1-2, Ann Farmer, 1733.
[712] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp.1-3, William Wadeley, 1723; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, Simon Driver, 1722.
[713] Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse* (Harlow: Longman Group, 1983), p. 197.
[714] A purgatory was a receptacle for ashes beneath or in front of a fire. *Yeomen and Colliers*, ed. by Trinder and Cox, p. 466; (HRO), AA20, Jeremiah Sayce, 1733.

seventeenth century resulting in the use of new cookware. Whilst the inn was functional, there was a more polite and lavishly decorated inn of the same date in Tewkesbury. This hostelry used two dog wheels to turn spits rather than a pulley, weights and chains. Thomas Cotton cooked food in his kitchen, but also in his fore street room.[715] The kitchen was the main cooking area as seen in the presence of: '9 brass potts and kettles, furnace, firegrate, 1 pair of tongs and fire shovel, 2 frying pans, 1 brass stew pan and cover, 1 dog wheel and iron rack, 5 tubs'. His fore street chamber contained '1 fire grate, fire shovel and tongs, 5 spits, brass, things over the chimney, 1 dog wheel'. Food that cooked slowly was hung over the fire in large cauldrons in the kitchen; meat was also roasted in this location. The roasting of meats in the fore street room had a three-fold purpose. It allowed larger quantities of meat to be roasted in a shorter amount of time, the spectacle and aromas of cooking meat in front of patrons would have enticed them to dine, and the activity of the spit-dog running inside a large metal barrel had entertainment value.

It can be seen that kitchens became important multifunctional rooms in the early modern household. They were not only arenas of food preparation, preservation and cooking, but also functioned, at all levels within the middling ranks, as informal social spaces for entertainment on occasions, and for eating and drinking. Wealthy households had large quantities of pewter which remained popular during the period despite the increasing availability of new semi-durables, whilst lower middling households more frugally used brass. Households gradually adopted new cooking technologies with less affluent testators retaining traditional cooking methods for longer.

The variety of uses that kitchens were subject to and the *ad hoc* nature of tasks performed there is strongly indicative of the informal and experimental nature of the space. Unlike the 'front-stage' rooms with their increasingly prescribed functions, the 'back-stage' space of the kitchen can be said to contain vestiges of the multi-functional role of the old medieval hall which was slowly being replaced. The use of bedrooms in the next section can be equally ambiguous as they were not always limited to 'back-stage' functions.

Bedrooms

The function of the middling rank bedchamber

[715] (GRO), Inventory, 1733/103, p. 1, Thomas Cotton, 1733.

The role of the bedchamber in the early modern household has not been examined by historians to the same extent as the 'front-stage' rooms and the kitchen. Previous studies appear to have centred on the value of objects such as the bed and its furnishings rather than how these spaces were used or how people behaved in them. However, this is changing as Sasha Handley is currently researching early modern perceptions and practices of sleep in Britain within domestic English households.[716]

The bedchamber performed a particular function as a place for sleeping and resting. Beds could be important as valuable pieces of furniture that could symbolise the wealth and status of their owner. Elaborate beds, which may have been scaled down interpretations of state beds, became 'majestic theatrical settings'.[717] Howard states beds saw 'some of the most significant events of people's lives', as they were used to celebrate marriage, for childbirth and also at death.[718] On a day-to-day basis beds fulfilled more down to earth needs such as providing a place of refuge to sleep or convalesce. The role of the bedchamber to some extent depended on the size of the property and the wealth and trade of the householder. Among the lower middling ranks they could also serve as storage or working spaces, whereas richer individuals made their sleeping areas comfortable and luxurious. Amongst the wealthy, who might display pictures and prints on landings and in bedchambers, 'back-stage' rooms could be an extension of 'front-stage' areas of the house. In some households bedchambers appeared to be informal 'front-stage' rooms, and in properties without a parlour they may have served as a more refined space than the kitchen in which to entertain guests. The main difference between these rooms and the parlour, as Estabrook proposes, is that upstairs rooms were seen as confidential. An invitation to adjourn to such a room was an indication that one had been admitted into an inner circle of friendship.[719] Some of these spaces have been discussed in the previous chapter.

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[716] Sasha Handley has written a number of articles on the history of sleep, see: Sasha Handley, 'Sleepwalking, Subjectivity and the Nervous Body in Eighteenth-Century Britain,' *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 35, 3 (2012), pp. 305–323; Handley, 'From the Sacral to the Moral: Sleeping Practices, Household Worship and Confessional Cultures in Late Seventeenth-Century England,' *Cultural and Social History*, 9, 1(2012), pp. 27-46. Her latest research is *Bedroom Stories in Early Modern England*. <http://www.manchester.ac.uk/research/sasha.handley/research>Accessed [26 February 2014]

[717] Tessa Murdoch, 'The Melville Bed', in *Design and the Decorative Arts*, ed. by John Snodin and John Styles (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2001), pp. 90-1, (p. 90).

[718] Maurice Howard, 'The Great Bed of Ware', in *Design and the Decorative Arts*, ed. by Snodin and Styles, pp. 48-9, (p. 48).

[719] Carl B. Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 150.

Weatherill maintains household space was organised by necessary things such as sleep and rest. This influenced the arrangement of the house and the type of material goods associated with it.[720] We know these rooms were used for sleeping, but the three-town sample enables other functions to be examined. The contents of these rooms varied considerably with a small number of bedrooms being recorded by the probate assessors as 'best rooms'. The term 'best chamber' was increasingly used after 1680.[721] To distinguish these superior bedchambers from other sleeping rooms in the house they would need to be well furnished with new or decorative goods like pictures, looking glasses, maps and window curtains. Howard believes that 'best rooms' were probably reserved for visitors.[722] However, in middling rank households in the three-town sample, these rooms would more probably have been used by the head of the family. They could have been used as a retreat from the rest of the household, and they were more private than the parlour. Table 4.12 examines the inventory sample to determine the number of bedrooms that were described as 'best rooms', and others which also seemed to perform this function.

Table 4.12 The number and percentage of best bedrooms in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury inventory sample, 1662- 1753

	Ludlow n= 27		**Hereford** n = 67		**Tewkesbury** n = 26	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of 'best rooms'	4	14.81	8	11.09	1	3.84
No. of principal bedrooms	4	14.81	6	8.95	4	15.38
Total No. of well-furnished bedrooms[723]	8	29.62	14	20.89	5	19.23

The Ludlow sample had the highest percentage of well-furnished bedrooms; this possibly reflects the more affluent members of the middling ranks, whereas Tewkesbury had the lowest percentages of principal bed chambers as there were fewer affluent testators in that sample. Although probate assessors rarely listed rooms as 'best', inventory evidence suggests there were a number of well-furnished rooms that fitted the description. Elements that seemed

[720] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 159.
[721] Priestley and Corfield, 'Rooms and Room Use in Norwich', p.103.
[722] Howard, 'Fashionable Living', in *Design and the Decorative Arts*, ed. by Snodin and Styles, pp. 95-119, (p. 101).
[723] Well-furnished bedrooms were those that contained at least two decorative items. These were pictures, looking glasses, maps and window curtains.

to suggest a principal chamber were a bed, a mirror, numerous chairs and at least one table. These rooms were variously described as 'fore street chambers' or commonly just 'bedchambers'. The low amount of decorative bedrooms illustrates that the majority of lesser tradesmen in the three towns were unwilling or unable to purchase ornamental goods to enhance the appearance of at least one of their bedrooms; the majority of bedrooms belonging to tradesmen were functional, private rooms.

However, the bedroom of a Hereford baker demonstrates an awareness of refined taste. The second upstairs room of Sylvanus Hamer was assessed at £2.18.06. It had a bed valued at £2.09.00, and attractive elements in the form of eight small pictures, window curtains and an old looking glass, alongside the practical furniture of four chairs, a decayed chest of drawers, a dressing table and a corner cupboard. It is possible these goods were fashionable when the home was set up, and were now old, worn and de-valued. The entire value of the inventory was only £16.07.00.[724] The furnishings were of low value but importantly demonstrated a partial participation in fashionable consumption. Hamer, as a lesser ranking tradesman, was near the bottom of the status hierarchy, but the middling ranks from this section of society were not ignorant of new fashionable goods and polite living. Many like Hamer lacked wealth and connections, but were able to own some expressive and decorative goods.

Lesser ranking tradesmen were seen as those that worked in manufacturing trades or in the commercial sector.[725] Some enhanced their status by the accumulation of wealth. For example, Jacob Davies, a self-made tinplate and domestic hardware seller, gained a position in Ludlow society.[726] The high monetary value of his moveable goods (£1631.09.00) gave him higher middling rank status according to Table 2.3. Wealthy tradesmen like Davies owned more than one decorative bedroom, and were likely to possess many new and decorative goods. His 'room over the passage' seemed to be his parlour: the main difference between this room and his bedrooms was the absence of a bed. His bedrooms had luxuries such as window curtains, a looking glass, and several pictures of different sizes, cane chairs and chinaware. These rooms were valued at between £7 and £10.[727] Davies also had '2 large pictures, and several small pictures' in his chamber over the shop. It is possible that large pictures owned by a rich aspiring tradesman would have been landscapes, portraits or 'history

[724] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Sylvanus Hamer, 1742.
[725] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 185.
[726] Information supplied by *Ludlow Historical Research Group*.
[727] (HRO), AA20, Jacob Davies, 1733.

paintings'. These last were normally commissioned pieces of great battles or historic themes, complex in construction and crowded with figures and action.[728] Davies' polite bedrooms contrasted strongly with his garrets which were full of trade goods. As already explained in Chapter 3, many fore street chambers doubled up as parlours in some houses that had ground floor shops.

Luxury bedchambers that were used for polite entertaining frequently contained equipment for serving drinks. The beverages and the vessels used gradually changed with the move away from traditional materials and drinks to exotic imports. Before the popularity of fashionable hot drinks of tea, coffee and chocolate, which were only beginning to appear in middling rank homes by the 1730s, hot drinks usually consisted of caudle, mulled wine or hot beer.[729] By 1733, the taking of hot drinks had become refined by the use of new semi-durable vessels; these had a clear display function and were used and exhibited in the best rooms of the house. The inventory of Jacob Davies illustrates that some bedrooms were used as places to consume hot drinks alone or in company. The presence of china in these rooms implies the value that these objects held for their owners as delicate novelty items. The other two inventories that recorded china in bedrooms belonged to innholders.[730] Whether these rooms were used by family members or exclusive patrons is unknown, but they suggest that by the mid-eighteenth century hot drinks were likely to be enjoyed by quality paying customers. The room over the kitchen of *The Bull and Castle* also contained some silver objects; the collection of chinaware belonging to Jeremiah Sayce revealed that chocolate was also served. The consumption of hot drinks in bedchambers may have been more common than inventories suggest. The inventory of Samuel Morse, a wealthy Hereford mercer indicates that he seemed to use his bedroom over the shop as a dining room as it contained: 'eleven cane chairs, hangings, window curtains, and a looking glass, a set of ten dishes' and 'a table and spoons'.[731]

[728] Louise Lippincott, 'Expanding on Portraiture', in *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800, Image, Object, Text*, ed. by Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 75-88, (p. 77).
[729] 'One iron to warm beere' was recorded in the chamber over the parlour. (TNA), PROB 2/689, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663.
[730] Inventories of; (GRO), 1733/103, Thomas Cotton, 1733; (HRO), AA20, Jeremiah Sayce, 1733.
[731] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 7, Samuel Morse, 1722.

David Knell claims that seventeenth-century bedchambers in rich households were treated as reception rooms.[732] Some bedrooms, especially 'the great chamber', did have this function; two of these rooms were recorded in the three-town sample.[733] These rare survivals were medieval rooms that each contained a bed, but also performed a public function. The great chamber of Ann Morton, a wealthy spinster, may have retained this use as there were fourteen different types of seating furniture, although best rooms usually had a smaller number of chairs.[734] The minimum number of chairs that indicate a public function in these rooms has been set at four for the purpose of this analysis, and some rooms had only chairs and stools but no tables. The ownership of a large number of chairs of different designs and materials may have been a visible statement of the wealth of the householder from the later seventeenth century, when traditional stools and benches were replaced by chairs. Low stools were still recorded in the three-town sample in the seventeenth century. These may have been used as footstools or seats for servants or children. Some of the types of chairs listed in the Hereford sample are illustrated in the inventory of Mary Williams, an innholder and widow. The inventory was made in 1663 at the beginning of the period. Williams owned an unusually high number of chair types: in total thirty-six chairs and eight stools. These were variously described as: 'wrought, turned, gilded, twigging, plane leather with brass nails and green chairs', and many were in the comfortable bedchambers rented to patrons.[735]

Such bedchambers in inns and alehouses had a commercial purpose, just as their kitchens did. Williams had ten rooms in her quality inn: five of these were bedchambers.[736] At this date pictures and looking glasses were uncommon bedroom ornaments, but other decorative features were present in two of the bedrooms, for example, elaborate andirons and fire grates with 'brass heads'. Further down the economic scale alehouses utilized all available space allowing patrons into most down stairs rooms to drink and eat. The upstairs rooms were used for sleeping, the quality on offer being dependant on the status of the establishment. Low-grade premises offered cheap accommodation with patrons often sleeping on a table or bench, or even in the same room as the landlord. Better quality alehouses, mainly catering for

[732] David Knell, *English Country Furniture. The Regional and the Vernacular 1500-1900* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1992), p. 72.
[733]This was recorded in the inventories of a Tewkesbury maltster and a Hereford spinster. John Higgins, 1662. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 118-20; (HRO), AA20, Ann Morton, 1693. Its use was explained by Priestley and Corfield, 'Rooms and Room Use in Norwich', p. 108.
[734] (HRO), AA20, Ann Morton, 1693.
[735] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1-4, Mary Williams, 1663.
[736] (HRO), AA20, Mary Williams, 1663.

travellers, might provide designated lodging rooms with comfortable feather beds, furniture and wall decorations.[737]

The inventory sample indicates that it was not unusual for bedrooms in inns to contain decorative objects and fashionable goods. In comparison, few domestic bedchambers had ornamental items. However, looking glasses were present in some bedrooms, as Table 3.9 shows. They were decorative objects, but when sited in bedrooms also had the practical purpose of allowing people to make themselves presentable, and may also suggest a growing self-awareness.[738] By the mid-eighteenth century, evidence of the falling cost of looking glasses can be seen in the inventory of Jane Weal. She was not wealthy, her movables were assessed at £39.05.00, and she was from the lower middling ranks, yet Weal owned nine looking glasses in her best chamber.[739] In the three-town sample pictures were rarely hung in bedrooms.

A small number of bedchambers contained books; there was only one example in each town in the probate sample. In at least one inventory these books were of a religious nature; recorded in the 1712 inventory of the lower middling rank Hereford widow, Francis Howlands were 'a Bible and other books'.[740] It might be presumed that more of the middling ranks would have kept Bibles in their bedchambers in this less secular period. The other two testators who owned books were from the gentry.[741] The low numbers of books listed in bedrooms may also reflect the way inventories were written: books were often listed as a separate entry and divorced from their location. Another possibility was that reading was not a private affair; it may have been a family activity taking place in the parlour. Large-scale book ownership in the three town sample was unusual amongst the middling ranks; only two members of the gentry owned studies.[742] Book ownership in the three towns may have been similar to book acquisition in the Renaissance, when it was more important to have a few well-read volumes.[743]

[737] Clark, *The English Alehouse*, pp. 198, 228, 135.
[738] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 189.
[739] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, Jane Weal, 1752.
[740] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, Francis Howlands, 1712.
[741] These were the inventories of; Mary Warren, 1673, *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 168-9; (HRO), AA20, Thomas Stanley, 1713.
[742] Inventories of; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 2, Oswald Hopkins, 1673; (TNA), PROB 2/689, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663.
[743] Elizabeth Currie, *Inside the Renaissance House* (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2006), p. 82.

In the three-town sample the probate assessors frequently omitted to record the types of beds and fittings, but when these were listed there was much variation. Priestley and Corfield claim that earlier inventories described the most valuable bedsteads in detail, but as bedsteads became plainer and less expensive they became a common part of domestic furniture.[744] A typical bed and its equipment were described in the last quarter of the seventeenth century in fore street chamber of the *The Black Swan*. There was 'one bedstead, cord and mat, curtains and valance and curtain rod, one feather bed and boulster and pillows, one rug, one blanket, three carpets'.[745] The bed was not valued separately; the contents of the room were assessed at £7. Frequently beds were included with all the goods in the bedroom, or the assessor valued all the beds in the property as one entry.

In the majority of middling rank bedchambers bed furnishings provided the decoration in the room with coloured and patterned textiles of various grades. The money spent on this important piece of furniture reflected the wealth and status of their owners. Not everyone could afford to invest in an elaborate and expensively furnished bed; occasionally inventories recorded a mattress on a floor without a bedstead or bed curtains. The lodging room of Tobias Needham, for example, contained 'one bedsteed and two flock beds'; there was enough bed linen and blankets to dress two mattresses.[746] There were numerous grades of hangings, coverings and sheets. Bedsteads were also available in a range of styles and sizes. Shammas states 'the soft, warm decorated bed was an isle of refuge in a household sea of discomfort'.[747]

Sheets were an important part of the comfort of the bed. They were recorded frequently in pairs. An under-sheet helped prevent the mattress filling from sticking into the sleeper whether it was quills from a feather mattress or straw from a chaff mattress. The upper-sheet shielded the person from the rough texture of woollen blankets. A number of individuals only owned coarse sheets which would have reduced the comfort of the bed. The inventory of Robert Mopp, the previously mentioned Tewkesbury labourer, illustrates the harshness of life in the early modern period. He would have worked long hours, slept in hemp sheets and worn

[744] Priestley and Corfield, 'Rooms and Room Use in Norwich', p. 115.
[745] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.2, Thomas Price, 1672.
[746] (GRO), Inventory, 1712/515, pp. 1-2, Tobias Needham, 1712.
[747] C. Shammas, 'The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America', *Journal of Social History*, 14 (1980), 3-24, (p.10).

hemp shirts.[748] Despite this he owned his small three-roomed house and his mattress was not of the lowest grade as he slept on a flock rather than a chaff bed. Table 4.13 examines the kind of mattress that householders owned illustrating the importance placed on comfort.

Table 4.13 The types of mattresses recorded in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1753

	Unspecified Mattresses type		**Feather**		**Flock**		**Chaff**	
Total No. of Inv.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ludlow 91	45	49.45	35	38.46	8	8.79	3	3.29
Hereford 146	90	61.64	33	22.60	23	15.75	0	0
Tewkesbury 51	1	1.96	22	43.13	28	54.90	0	0

The favourite mattress filling in Ludlow and Hereford may have been feather, the most comfortable; for although Table 4.14 shows that there were numerous mattresses unspecified by type many of these were assessed in houses with superior furnishings. This suggests that most would therefore have contained feather which would have been the natural choice when money was not a barrier. The value of feather mattresses varied because of their condition and age. Some of the middling ranks owned bags of feathers to plump up ailing mattresses, such as the ‘one feather bed and 2 baggs of feathers, weight 7 stone at 3 shillings per stone’

[748] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, p. 177; the inventory of Mopp was valued at £29.14.10, it lists ‘2 payers of hempen sheets, 2 course hand towels and a peece of new hempen cloath to make 2 shirts.’ Robert Mopp, 1663. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot,
pp. 123-5. However, cloth made from hemp was not as rough as it sounds. It wore like Irish linen and had the advantage of going whiter over time. From: 'Hemp - Herse', Nancy Cox and Karen Dannehl, *Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities, 1550-1820,* University of Wolverhampton (2007), <http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=58791> Accessed [23 October 2011]

listed in the inventory of a Hereford weaver.[749] It was necessary to own surplus feathers as mattresses flattened, or lost feathers over time. The next grade of filling was flock: usually rags or wool refuse from shearing.[750] This was the most common mattress recorded in the Tewkesbury sample, and demonstrates that many of the testators were less affluent than those in the other two towns, although feather mattresses were also present in numbers. The lowest grade of mattress was chaff which was the cheapest and the most uncomfortable being made from cut straw. Chaff beds were only listed in the Ludlow sample, and only there among the least well off. These mattresses were also probably present in Hereford and Tewkesbury, but were possibly considered insufficiently valuable to warrant an entry by probate assessors. The Ludlow probate sample occasionally highlights the far from enviable living conditions that the poorer sorts of people in Ludlow experienced. These individuals are mainly overlooked in the history of the town. Table 4.14 investigates the styles of bedsteads when they have been described in the inventory sample. These items, like other pieces of furniture, were subject to fashion and their designs changed over time. Bedsteads raised the mattress off the floor and 'insulated the sleeper more effectively from cold, dirt, and vermin'.[751]

Table 4.14 The sorts of bedsteads recorded in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1753

Total No. of Inv. in sample	**Ludlow 91**		**Hereford 146**		**Tewkesbury 51**	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Truckle	6	6.59	13	8.90	10	19.60
Standing	1	1.09	4	2.73	1	1.96
Wainscot	3	3.29	2	1.36	0	0
High Bedstead	1	1.09	0	0	2	3.92
Half-Headed[752]	0	0	4	2.73	3	5.88
'Joyned'	0	0	0	0	5	9.80
Old	3	3.29	21	14.38	1	1.96
Unspecified bedstead	77	84.61	102	69.86	29	56.86

[749] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, Joseph Ferrar, 1752.
[750] *Miners and Mariners*, ed. by Trinder and Cox, p. 64; N. W. Alcock, *People at Home, Living in a Warwickshire Village 1500-1800* (Cirencester: Philimore, 1993), p. 223.
[751] Susan Prendergast Schoelwer, 'Form, Function, and Meaning in the Use of Fabric furnishings: A Philadelphia Case Study', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 4, 1 (1979), 25-40, (p. 28).
[752] A half-headed bedstead was a bed without a canopy with short corner posts. *The Goods and Chattels*, ed. by Moore, p. 309.

Bedsteads were rarely itemised in the three towns, but Table 4.14 provides some indication of the changes in style. Some of the terms require explanation; a truckle bed was a low bed, normally on wheels. In more affluent households these were stored under higher beds when not in use: servants or children mainly used them. [753] The relatively high number of truckle beds in the Tewkesbury sample again emphasises the lowly status of many testators. These beds were useful in confined spaces as they could be stored standing or under other furniture.

The affluent members of the middling ranks owned large imposing beds in the second half of the seventeenth century. Impressive beds provided the decoration in a room before the spread of pictures and looking glasses. These were often referred to as standing or wainscot bedsteads. Standing beds had four posters. Thornton suggests these were 'substantial and immoveable' pieces of furniture.[754] Wainscot, imported oak from Northern Europe, was used in the majority of furniture in the seventeenth century.[755] These grand and imposing beds generally went out of use by the 1720s. By the eighteenth century the middling ranks in the three-town sample favoured affordable and practical bedsteads. 'Joyned' beds usually had a canopy and tester; the term refers to the style of manufacture using mortice-tenon joints.[756] These beds were also popular in the seventeenth century amongst the less affluent. Smaller and reasonably priced bedsteads remained in homes in the three towns for a long time. Table 4.14 suggests that apart from the useful truckle bedsteads, no one particular type of bedstead was favoured by the middling ranks. However, a number of Hereford households felt no pressure to replace older bedsteads with new ones; this reinforces the probability that many of the middling ranks there were indifferent to fashionable goods.

Weatherill suggests that it was not considered proper behaviour to share a bed with family members although in practice, especially amongst children and servants in overcrowded households, this may have frequently occurred. By the late seventeenth century sleep was considered to be a private activity.[757] John suggests that the decline of the truckle bed may have increased bed sharing. She also states that although it has been claimed that the period saw greater separation amongst family members in bedrooms, the reality may have been that

[753] *Yeomen and Colliers,* ed. by Trinder and Cox, p. 468.
[754] Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Decoration in England, France and Holland* (London: Yale University, 1978), p. 157.
[755] *The Goods and Chattels,* ed. by Moore, p. 336.
[756] *Yeomen and Colliers,* ed. by Trinder and Cox, p. 464; *The Goods and Chattels,* ed. by Moore, p. 313.
[757] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour,* p. 160.

members of the family and mistresses and servants did sleep together.[758] John Taylor, a dyer and a lesser ranking Ludlow tradesman, had three beds in one room suggesting he lived in an overcrowded household.[759] The less affluent may have prioritised which rooms were heated; multiple beds may have been placed in the same room to reduce the amount of fuel used.

Integral to the appearance, comfort and value of the bed were the textiles employed; they were often eye-catching statements of householders' wealth and status. Table 4.15 analyses the most common sorts of bed equipage that was listed in the three-town sample.

Table 4.15 The sorts of textiles listed on middling rank beds in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury inventory sample, 1662-1753

Total No. of Inv. in sample	**Ludlow 91**		**Hereford 146**		**Tewkesbury 51**	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Curtains and Valance (Hangings)	7	7.69	31	21.23	14	27.45
Counterpane	2	2.19	5	3.42	3	5.88
Quilt	2	2.19	12	8.22	1	1.96
Holland Sheets	0	0	0	0	1	1.96
Hemp Sheets	5	5.49	1	0.68	4	7.84
Coarse Sheets	1	1.09	6	4.10	1	1.96
Flaxen Sheets	5	5.49	10	6.84	3	5.88
Hurden Sheets	4	4.39	2	1.36	0	0
Welsh Yarn Sheets	0	0	2	1.36	0	0
Flannel Sheets	1	1.09	0	0	0	0
Worn Out	3	3.29	0	0	0	0
Unspecified	61	67.03	77	52.73	24	47.06

[758] Eleanor John, 'At Home with the London Middling Sort- The Inventory Evidence for Furnishings and Room Use, 1570-1720,' *Regional Furniture*, 22 (2008), 27-51, (p. 46).
[759] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, John Taylor, 1713.

Table 4.15 shows that the middling rank in the three-town sample had a considerable range of textiles available for furnishing beds. The wealthier households owned numerous sheets, usually in an assortment of grades, allowing beds to be dressed to match the status of the room and the occupant. Bedrooms with a practical 'back-stage' use were more likely to have older or less expensive sheets. Bedrooms that had a polite 'front-stage' use may have had quality linen sheets on the beds emphasising the importance and expressive nature of the goods in these rooms. This probability is strengthened by the persuasive argument of Trinder and Cox that the systematic recording of sheets illustrates the awareness of people of the distinctions between particular grades, and the value that was attached to them.[760]

Many beds during the period were made warm and private by the use of bed curtains which frequently came with valances. The valance was a border of hanging drapery around a bed and was purely decorative; a number of inventories in the three- town sample referred to these items simply as hangings.[761] Prendergast Schoelwer claims 'the fully hung bed was a self-contained living space, a chamber unto itself.'[762] The benefit of bed curtains was felt in the bedchambers of many lesser ranking tradesmen who were short of bedrooms. The master and mistress of the house were secluded from their sometimes grown up children by these items. Tobias Needham a hosiery seller and manufacturer, for example, lived with three adult children and an apprentice. His bedroom had a bedstead with a feather mattress and bed curtains; these may have been needed as the bedroom was shared with at least two other sleepers who had flock mattresses on the floor.[763]

These textiles were made in a variety of fabrics; some were exotic imports, for example, the 'sett of chenay curtains' listed in the bell chamber of a seventeenth-century innholder. She also owned an 'ayros' [arras] coverlet and carpet.[764] This fabric was also recorded in a will of a Hereford widow in1723.[765] Curtains and valances could also be locally made from a heavy woollen cloth produced in the nearby town of Kidderminster. This textile was also made into a range of cupboard and table coverings during the late seventeenth century. Kidderminster

[760] *Miners and Mariners,* ed. by Trinder and Cox, p. 65.
[761] *Yeomen and Colliers,* ed. by Trinder and Cox, p. 469.
[762] Prendergast Schoelwer, p. 28.
[763] (GRO), Inventory, 1712/515, pp. 1-2, Tobias Needham, 1712.
[764] This was arras- a rich tapestry fabric, often decorated with figures in coloured thread. This originated from Arras in Flanders. *Inventories of the Worcestershire Landed Gentry,* ed. by Wanklyn, p. 421. Listed in: (HRO), AA20, Mary Williams, 1663.
[765] (HRO), Will, AA20, p.1, Elizabeth Holmer, 1723.

hangings were listed in the 1693 inventory of a former servitor at Coningsby's Hospital.[766] By the first two decades of the eighteenth century this textile, which often accompanied heavy wainscot furniture, fell from use when lighter weight and coloured furniture became fashionable.

The sheets in Table 4.16 were made from a mixture of local and imported textiles. A Welsh connection is implied in Hereford with two households owning items woven from Welsh yarn. The slightly higher ownership of coarse sheets in Hereford hints at functionality and cost being more important factors than comfort. The less affluent owned the rougher textured fabrics, such as hurden, which was a coarse linen cloth.[767] Another inexpensive textile was Holland, a coarse unbleached linen, or a mixture of linen and cotton which was sometimes glazed with oil or starch.[768] Alcock maintains these could also be made from reused hemp or flax.[769] Trinder and Cox suggest that flaxen cloth came in variable qualities, and that flannel was a 'woollen stuff of loose texture without a nap'.[770] The Cornish sample of Overton et al illustrates that on the whole middling ranks did not prize bed sheets as the majority of households only had one sheet per simple bed. There was little change over time which seemingly reflects their essentially rural nature. However, their Kent sample, being closer to London and more aware of consumer goods, expanded their ownership of sheets from two sets to three sets per bed by the 1740s.[771] The quality of the sheets has been disregarded in compiling Table 4.16 in order to analyse the ratio between the number of beds and sheets in the three-town sample.

[766] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, Robert Knowles, 1683.
[767] *Yeomen and Colliers*, ed. by Trinder and Cox, p. 464.
[768] *The Goods and Chattels*, ed. by Moore, p. 311.
[769] Alcock, *People at Home*, p. 224.
[770] *Yeomen and Colliers*, ed. by Trinder and Cox, p. 472.
[771] Overton and others, *Production*, p. 110.

Table 4.16 The ratio between sheets and beds in the towns of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury, 1662-1743

Ludlow[772]	**No. of Invs**	**No. of beds**	**No. of pairs of sheets**	**Ratio of sheets per bed**
1662-3	3	13	28	2.15
1672-3	1	4	8	2
1682-3	2	17	27	1.58
1692-3	2	7	12	1.71
1702-3	2	7	13	1.85
1712-3	0	0	0	0
1722-3	0	0	0	0
1732-3	1	11	38	3.45
1742-3	1	1	4	4
Hereford[773]	**No. of Invs**	**No. of beds**	**No. of pairs of sheets**	**Ratio of sheets per bed**
1662-3	5	20	49	2.45
1672-3	8	42	103	2.45
1682-3	11	44	109	2.47
1692-3	4	19	47	2.47
1702-3	5	13	41	3.15

[772] In the Ludlow sample 79 inventories were unsuitable for inclusion (86.81%).
[773] In the Hereford sample 91 inventories were unsuitable for inclusion (62.33%).

1712-3	3	15	21	1.4
1722-3	4	12	11	0.91
1732-3	12	32	75	2.34
1742-3	3	9	16	1.77
Tewkesbury[774]	**No. of Invs**	**No. of beds**	**No. of pairs of sheets**	**Ratio of sheets per bed**
1662-3	7	24	41	1.70
1672-3	2	5	31	6.2
1682-3	1	7	9	1.28
1692-3	4	13	26	2
1702-3	3	8	23	2.87
1712-3	2	4	5	1.25
1722-3	2	10	17	1.7
1732-3	0	0	0	0
1742-3	0	0	0	0

In the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample only small numbers of inventories itemised sheets and beds. The correlation between the number of beds and sheets varied considerably as illustrated by Table 4.16. Trinder and Cox analysed the ratio between sheets and beds for Benthall, Broseley, Little Wenlock and Madeley in the Severn Gorge region of Shropshire. Their research stresses that the middling ranks owned the most sheets at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but by the mid- eighteenth century this figure had slightly declined.[775] Edwards uses a smaller time frame to claim there was an increase in the pattern of sheet ownership in Shropshire; he suggested that there were three sheets to a bed in the 1660s, and 1670s, and five sheets per bed by the period 1690-1710.[776] In the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury study the ratio of sheets to beds was lower than in the Severn Gorge study (even in the Ludlow selection, which is also in Shropshire), but this is based on a very small sample, which illustrates the weakness of inventory sources. The majority of the middling ranks had the pair of sheets on their beds and a surplus pair. The Tewkesbury sample had the most sheets per bed in the 1672-3 sample, but this was based on two wealthy testators. The

[774] In the Tewkesbury sample 30 inventories were unsuitable for inclusion (58.82%).
[775] Table IX, *Miners and Mariners,* ed. by Trinder and Cox, p. 66.
[776] Clive Edwards, *Turning Houses into Homes, A History of the Retailing and Consumption of Domestic Furnishings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 22.

Hereford sample had the most sheets per bed later in 1702/3. Ludlow had lower ratios than Hereford, but had two higher ratios of sheets to beds at the end of the period examined, though these were only based on single inventories. Apart from these, the highest ratio of sheets to beds was at the beginning of the period. Table 4.16 appears to show the decline in wealth and status of the testators from the three-town sample, rather than an increase in bed linen. Table 4.17 records the testators who owned significant amounts of textiles; for the purpose of the analysis of the three-town sample this figure is quantified as ten or more pairs of sheets.

Table 4.17 The number and percentage of individuals who owned multiples of sheets in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury inventory sample, 1662- 1753

	Ludlow n = 91		**Hereford** n = 146		**Tewkesbury** n = 51	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of testators	4	4.39	21	14.38	4	7.84

There are a relatively large number of the Hereford middling ranks in the sample that owned significant numbers of sheets; this reflects the possibility that those with disposable wealth preferred to invest in traditional markers of status, rather than purchase new and fashionable goods. The people who owned large quantities of bed linen were from a variety of economic backgrounds; these were mainly wealthy tradesmen, innholders and widows. The tradable value of pairs of sheets made them desirable to affluent tradesmen.

Substantial stocks of sheets were necessary for large inns where quality beds and furnishings where provided for patrons. Clean, fine sheets were the mark of a superior inn. In the Hereford sample, five innholders were listed who owned large numbers of sheets, whilst in the Ludlow sample only one innholder was described as having multiple bed sheets. There would have been other, well-equipped large inns in Ludlow, but their linen was not itemised. The Hereford sample also illustrates two yeomen and six tradesmen who prized surplus linen.

Nonetheless, the inventory sample demonstrates that a large proportion of testators from the three towns may have owned only one set of sheets with better off households possessing a spare set per bed. This study, when compared with the work of other historians, illustrates that there was much regional variation in the amount of sheets that were owned.

It is possible that meanings could be attached to bed sheets; as well as being prized for their comfort and as visible indicators of status; they may have been endowed with sentimental value especially for widows. In the sample, one Ludlow widow, two Hereford widows and a spinster and two Tewkesbury widows each possessed numerous sheets. Their movables may possibly have been the sum of more than one household either through re-marriage or inheritance. For example, Mary Warren, a gentry widow, owned in a trunk amongst her good quality bed linen 'one old sheet, five dozen of overworne sheetes'.[777] The sentimental value of sheets may be better demonstrated through wills, but the evidence is inconclusive in the three-town sample. Table 4.18 shows an analysis of wills from the three towns made to determine how many individuals bequeathed beds.

Table 4.18 The number and percentage of individuals who bequeathed beds in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury inventory sample, 1662- 1753

	Ludlow n = 91		**Hereford** n = 146		**Tewkesbury** n = 51	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of testators	10	10.98	7	4.79	11	21.56

Beds were infrequently bequeathed in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample. However, a higher percentage of wills in Tewkesbury mentioned beds. This is most likely due to a greater proportion of the Tewkesbury probate sample being made up of the lower middling ranks. This social group did not possess significant amounts of property or money so may have been more likely to divide their household goods between family members.
In the Ludlow sample, testators mainly gave beds to family members, although a corviser left his servant her bed.[778] There were two wills that gave sheets without beds. In the Tewkesbury sample there were also three bequests that gave sheets without beds. The articles that were bequeathed varied in condition and quality; some were worn whilst others were described as

[777]Mary Warren, 1673. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 167-9.
[778] (HRO), Will, AA20, p. 1, Thomas Clibery, 1672.

'sad', meaning dull or dark.[779] Occasionally, the person who wrote the will connected the object directly with himself or herself: in bequeathing a bed, Elizabeth Holmer, a Hereford widow, gave her daughter 'the bed I usually lie with the bedstead'.[780]

The bedrooms in the inventory sample of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury were examined to assess the highest and lowest valuations of the rooms' contents, as illustrated in Table 4.19.

Table 4.19 The range of bedroom valuations in private households from the inventory sample of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury, 1662-1753

	Ludlow	**Hereford**	**Tewkesbury**
Highest	£11.00.00	£18.00.00	£31.15.08
Lowest	£0.6.0	£0.05.00	£0.08.00

Table 4.19 demonstrates that in the sample, Tewkesbury had the highest value bedchamber, but this was atypical: Mary Warren in her lower room owned £31.15.08 of goods. However, all her worldly goods were in the two rooms she lodged in, with her more valuable jewellery and silver being stored in chests in her bedroom with other goods.[781] Two wealthy lesser tradesmen owned the next most expensively furnished bedchambers, with the most expensive movables belonging to a Hereford testator. These rooms were decorative bedrooms with 'front-stage' functions. This social group often possessed a great number of new and expressive goods.[782]

The highest value commercial bedrooms in the three town sample belonged to innholders, with Hereford the highest at £32.18.00, Ludlow second with £20.16.0 closely followed by Tewkesbury at £20.00.00.[783] It might be presumed that the status of Ludlow, as an emerging

[779] Philip Heyward, 1692. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, p. 250; *The Goods and Chattels*, ed. by Moore, p. 325.
[780] (HRO), Will, AA20, p.1, Elizabeth Holmer, 1723.
[781] Mary Warren, 1673. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 167-9.
[782] Inventories of a Ludlow tinplate worker, assessed at £1631.09.00 and a Hereford tailor, valued at £421.18.04; (HRO), AA20, Jacob Davies, 1733; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, John Powell, 1742.
[783] Inventories of; (HRO), AA20, Jeremiah Sayce, 1733; (HRO), AA20, Mary Williams, 1663; (GRO), 1733/103, Thomas Cotton, 1733.

leisure town with a cleaner and less densely built appearance than Hereford, may have made it more desirable to wealthy visitors, but Hereford, as an administrative and ecclesiastical centre, would have attracted high status visitors requiring commensurate accommodation. The previously mentioned Hereford inn of Mary Williams had bedchambers with high value furnishings. The rooms contained expensive imported hangings, gilded chairs and high bedsteads, all meeting the requirements of discerning guests.

Most substantial properties had a hierarchy of bedrooms with the best rooms on the first floor. In Hereford and Tewkesbury, due to the survival of ancient buildings, the most impressive bedchamber was the previously mentioned great chamber; this often contained a bed, many chairs and tables. Formerly, this type of room would have been used by the head of the household and his family for dining. The best chamber came into use in the 1680s, and gradually replaced the great chamber.[784] Such rooms usually contained a table and chairs, and were fashionably furnished with expressive goods; they doubled up as intimate parlours. Modest but respectably equipped chambers followed this; they could be used as a confidential space for friends and acquaintances. There may have also been some pictures, or a mirror on the wall. In large houses the bedchambers with the lowest valuations were unimportant, sparsely furnished rooms which often contained old beds for the use of servants. Additionally, the functional rooms used by the servants were frequently in garrets; they were also sparsely furnished with old or broken pieces of furniture, or were used for storage. An example of a household that had varying qualities of bedrooms is illustrated by the inventory of Ralph Goodwyn, esquire, the bedchambers ranged from £6.06.08 to £0.06.00.[785]

This section has shown that though dependant on wealth and size of the house or rooms, main bedrooms were evolving from being places of rest to being places of refuge and privacy where privileged visitors might be housed or entertained. Consequently, these rooms could be comfortably, even richly, furnished as areas of 'front-stage' display, but they were in a minority. The majority were more utilitarian, and can therefore be allocated to the 'back-stage'. However, as objects such as looking glasses became more affordable even a small room could become an area of display, if only in a private capacity.

The use of closets in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury

[784] Priestley and Corfield, 'Rooms and Room Use in Norwich', p. 103.
[785] (TNA), PROB 2/689, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663.

This chapter has identified that the best bedrooms in the homes of the wealthy frequently had a 'front-stage' function. This meant that the bedroom was not always a retreat for the master or mistress of the house. It would have been considered inappropriate for their status to sit in the bedroom of either a family member or a servant; an alternative, polite withdrawing space was required. Closets were physical and symbolic places where individuals could isolate themselves from the household. These small rooms provided classic private space with rigid conventions of behaviour suspended; they were a haven from 'the racket and wearying publicity of life at home'.[786] Large households had little seclusion and privacy with visitors and servants coming and going, and the continuous polite conduct could take its toll. Closets were a genteel solution that allowed space in which to 'indulge feelings unobserved'.[787] These places were peaceful and comfortable, and might contain a window or a glass door panel which would have provided natural light and reduced the sense of claustrophobia. Curtains were added to allow total isolation if this was desired.[788]

Closets were mainly listed in the homes of the gentry or the higher middling ranks in the three town sample.[789] They were found in properties that were large enough to have non-essential rooms, and among testators with leisure time. There appeared to be two main types of rooms described as closets in the sample; their use changed over time and could be multi-functional, and their position in the house moved. Earlier closets were situated near or in 'front-stage' rooms. They may have been used as large walk-in cupboards like pantries. This type of closet use was recorded in the inventory samples of Ludlow and Hereford. Ralph Goodwyn, a Ludlow politician, owned two closets in 1663. This was the first mention of this type of room in the three town sample. The first closet was in or near his dining room and, as previously mentioned, contained his rare and exotic objects. The position of the closet in the dining room allowed Goodwyn easy access to his novelty items. However, his hall closet was used as a cupboard for storing 'glass bottles, a case of boxes, a cabinet and two barrels'.[790] Table 4.20 records the number of closets in the three town sample.

[786] Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 306-7.
[787] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p. 196.
[788] Karen Lipsedge, "Enter into Thy Closet": Women, Closet Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century English Novel', in *Gender, Taste and Material Culture,* ed. by John Styles and Amanda Vickery (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 110.
[789] The only closet that was recorded in an inventory that was not from the gentry or higher middling ranks was that of a Ludlow weaver: (HRO), Inventory, AA20, Benjamin Chirme, 1682.
[790] (TNA), PROB 2/689, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663.

Table 4.20 The number and percentage of closets in the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury inventory sample, 1662- 1753

	Ludlow n = 27		**Hereford** n = 67		**Tewkesbury** n = 26	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of closets	3	11.11	6	8.95	1	3.84

The Ludlow inventory sample had the highest percentage of closets, these were used for storage.[791] The closets belonged to male testators in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. In the Hereford sample two of these rooms contained collections of redundant furniture belonging to men.[792] The closets of William Wadeley echoed the general chaos of his home. Wadeley was an elderly professional in an eighteen-roomed house. Most of his rooms contained broken and worn out domestic goods. Only one closet was recorded in the Tewkesbury sample, this was in the home of a gentry widow.[793]

Closets were also used as private spaces, as identified by Vickery, and Karen Lipsedge.[794] Both the master and the mistress of the house used the closet in the home of Oswald Hopkins, a Hereford gentleman, for different purposes. Hopkins used the closet next to the parlour chamber as a safe, as this small room contained £5 of silver eating and drinking equipage. His wife perhaps used this place as a withdrawing space. This is demonstrated by the presence of small amounts of worked flax, wool and linen yarn in the closet, suggesting that she spun or embroidered.

Three female inventories listed closets: one widow and one spinster in the Hereford sample, and a widow in the Tewkesbury sample. These women had no husbands, but they may have still felt the need for privacy and seclusion. A closet was also mentioned in the will of a Tewkesbury gentleman. Robert Porter recognised this room as the private space of his wife; he allowed her to have all the English books in this location.[795] It was viewed as uncivil for a

[791] Inventories of; (TNA), PROB 2/689, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663; (HRO), AA20, Benjamin Chirme, 1682; (HRO), AA20, Thomas Stanley, 1713.
[792] Inventories of; (HRO), AA20, William Wadeley, 1723; (HRO), AA20, Robert Morris, 1733.
[793] Katherine Clark, 1675. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 174-6.
[794] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp. 306-7; Karen Lipsedge, "Enter into Thy Closet" in G*ender, Taste and Material Culture*, ed. by Styles and Vickery, p. 10.
[795] (GRO), Will, 1702/232, p.1, Robert Porter, 1702.

husband to disturb a wife in her closet.[796] The inventory of the Hereford gentry spinster, Ann Morton, described one of these rooms as the 'great chamber closet'. This was located by or in the grand upstairs reception room and contained an old cabinet, some little boxes, a bible and some small books, together with a small quantity of napkins, sheets and linen.[797] It is apparent that reading and prayer may have taken place there; however, the location of the room meant that it was also used for the storage of linen.

Karen Lipsedge, taking evidence from literature, points to closets being used for private reflection, prayer and personal correspondence.[798] An example of this is illustrated by the closet of Benetiza Bosworth, another Hereford spinster, who may have been connected to the gentry. She had a closet by, or in the chamber over the hall; this was a bedroom in a more secluded area of the house. Closets near the bedchamber were more likely to have been used as places for solitude. Her closet held 'a nest of boxes, a desk for books and other lumber', and was valued at £0.02.00.[799] Katherine Clark, a Tewkesbury gentry widow, also used her closet in a similar way as her room contained 'two bibles and other old books' and was assessed at £2.[800] Men could also own a closet to withdraw from company. John Broad, a professional and a Hereford clerk, seemed to have used his closet as a study or a library because it contained books; it was most likely a suitably quiet place for him to work.[801] Lena Cowen Orlin states that closets were 'places of high status and male privilege'.[802]The three-town sample implies that the higher status householders were more likely to have refined closets. These were used as withdrawing spaces rather than as a large cupboard for domestic storage.

Places for the production or storage of goods

'Back-stage' rooms consisted of more than the kitchen and different grades of bedrooms. One of the most important functions of 'back-stage' rooms was to store surplus domestic goods and, in less refined houses, to store the stock of tradesmen. These goods were usually stored at the periphery of the household living space; they are found in places like cellars and

[796] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p. 196.
[797] (HRO), AA20, Ann Morton, 1693.
[798] Lipsedge, "Enter into Thy Closet", in *Gender, Taste and Material Culture,* ed. by Styles and Vickery, p. 109.
[799] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp.1-2, Benetiza Bosworth, 1693.
[800] (GRO), 1675/ 48, Katherine Clark, 1675. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories,* ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 175-6.
[801] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p. 205; (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p.1, John Broad, 1702.
[802] Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 297.

garrets. The frequently damp and draughty nature of rooms on the margins of the house made them less habitable than most rooms, yet difficult access made them ideally secure for storing goods. Large households frequently used garrets as servant accommodation. This removed servants from the presence of the family, and utilised spaces that were otherwise restricted by typically low ceilings and irregular proportions. Tradesmen frequently housed apprentices in such rooms, whilst in lodging houses the cellar or garret could often be had for a lower rent.

The coldness of these areas of the house assisted with the preservation of food and drink. Sides of beef were hung in garrets, and barrels of ale were often stored in the cellar. The dampness of cellars and garrets was deleterious to costly and delicate household linen, which in many households might be stored in presses in bedrooms. This warmer and drier location also allowed for easier access to linen. In the Ludlow sample, three inventories recorded linen in the 'chamber over the kitchen', and there were two other locations where linen was stored: the buttery and the bake house. In the Hereford sample, there were thirteen inventories that described household linen in bedchambers, and one that listed these textiles in the garret. In the Tewkesbury sample, eight inventories listed textiles in bedrooms, and one inventory also recorded linen in the garret. The two inventories that stored textiles in the garret may not have prized this commodity.

Occasionally, tradesmen utilized the 'back-stage' rooms of their homes for the storage of shop goods. This was convenient and safe if they did not have warehouses or outbuildings, but there was the added bonus that their goods remained in good condition. Charles Brush, a Tewkesbury maltster may have used three of his four bedrooms for the storage of work related goods, such as quantities of oats, hops, maslin, five cheeses, beam, scales and weights, although the goods may have been brought into the house for valuation.[803] If his home was used for storage it was practical, if not polite, though it was not only lesser tradesmen that used their homes in this way. Jacob Davies, a tradesman with the highest value of movables in the Ludlow sample, lived near the centre of town at the top of Old Street. Davies, like many tradesmen lived above his shop, and used three of his garrets to store tin ware, earthenware, glasses and brooms. Clearly his trade goods exceeded the free space in his shop, warehouse and stable, or he sought greater security for them. Davies had three polite rooms, an upstairs parlour type room and two luxurious bedrooms. Since he sold

[803] Charles Brush, 1692. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 243-6.

low price semi-durables and tin ware he was aware of new commodities, and their range of qualities. For his personal use Davies owned expensive china, but he still appreciated traditional goods as he possessed £16 worth of silver cups and jugs and a large quantity of pewter plates and dishes.[804] His inventory illustrates that whilst cheap household objects and kitchenware made him rich, these items had no place in his own home as they were not even recorded in his kitchen.

Some inventories recorded specialized rooms or outhouses for the production or storage of trade goods, but such areas were only recorded when goods were present. The three town sample provides an insight into the range of production spaces in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The terms working shop, work-house and shop appeared to have overlapped as not every shop was a retailing space: they were often places of manufacture. In a similar way carpenters, joiners, turners, corvisers and ironmongers might produce wares in a space that doubled as a retail shop.

A number of workshops involved in such trades as tanning, dying and nail-making produced goods to sell or turned raw materials into finished goods. Warehouses were recorded in some inventories; these contained finished goods and often belonged to wealthy tradesmen. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the meaning of the term warehouse changed as it was used to describe fashionable shops. There were few workshops and warehouses listed; these purpose built structures implied a larger commercial venture into which capital had been sunk. In the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample there were a number of trades that operated through the putting out system. This provided low paid but staple employment to those lower down the social scale in the form of glove making in Ludlow and Hereford and stocking knitting in Tewkesbury, but goods would not be evident in outworker inventories as they did not own them.

Work related storage areas were important ‘back-stage’ areas as they were frequently part of or near to the homes of tradesmen. They demonstrate that working practices amongst the middling ranks were not that dissimilar; the main division was the scale of the enterprise and the amount of trade goods that individuals stored and sold. Greater capital could lead to a division between work and the domestic permitting some areas of the home to become more

[804] (HRO), AA20, Jacob Davies, 1733.

refined. During the period examined, wealthier households removed work related goods from the parlour and bedrooms. However, trade goods could still be stored in the homes of wealthy men, despite them having other storage facilities in a warehouse or shop.

Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the 'back-stage' rooms and their furnishings from the probate sample of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury. Through an analysis of kitchens, bedrooms, storage areas and places of production it has sought to establish the importance of place and status in the utilitarian areas of the house, how this corresponded with levels of ownership of goods and whether there is evidence that the behaviour of the middling ranks was more informal in those areas.

As with the 'front-stage' rooms, the analysis of the probate sample has highlighted some differentiation both in the types of goods consumed and in the rate of acceptance of new commodities and modes of behaviour, not only between the three towns, but also in comparison to the results of surveys elsewhere in the country. The main factors that seem to have affected the purpose and furnishings of 'back-stage' rooms were the wealth and status of the testator, their location and the time in which they lived within the period studied.

Many 'back-stage' rooms had more varied uses than 'front-stage' rooms, for example, the majority of kitchens were probably multi-functional spaces. These rooms might be used for informal eating and drinking in wealthy households, or used as a general living space in less affluent households. Kitchen equipment was not updated evenly across the social spectrum; occasionally, the known technologies of the wealthy filtered down into lower middling rank households, for example, the adoption of a dog wheel. There is little evidence of the middling ranks adopting new cooking technologies like installing ranges. The affluent may have invested in large amounts of serving ware to make a visible statement of their prosperity. The lower gentry, as the highest ranking social group, did not own the largest amounts of kitchenware. That was located in the homes of some professionals, but mostly in the properties of intermediate and lesser tradesmen. Well-stocked kitchens were also an essential requirement for successful inns.

Despite the availability of new spices and groceries, the middling ranks' diet remained reliant on consuming large quantities of meat. The varied apparatus, such as spits and jacks listed in

inventories illustrate this. However, there were a series of changes between 1660 and 1760 concerning where and how food was cooked in middling rank homes. Householders probably ceased cooking in their halls by the 1720s; this coincided with the rise of the parlour or fore street room as a polite space where refined eating and drinking took place.

The use of bedrooms seems to have varied according to the social status of the testator. It is possible that bedchambers in lower middling rank homes were used mainly for sleeping or the storage of trade or domestic goods. Many of these were sparsely furnished, and some households may have owned only one or two expressive goods. These rooms seemed relatively private and were used mostly by members of the household; the living environment for many of the lower middling ranks was plain and basic. The production and storage of trade goods could take over a large proportion of the house. This became an increasingly important indicator of status in this period as separation of work and home became a marker of polite behaviour. For the lower middling rank households, the lack of specialized room use and quality leisure time probably precluded the maintenance of ideals of politeness and status that were so important in larger or wealthier houses.

Further up the economic scale wealthy lesser ranking tradesmen could have two or three well-furnished bedrooms. Some rich tradesmen had bedchambers with a ‘front-stage’ purpose that was illustrated by the numbers of chairs; these rooms could occasionally contain new hot drink equipage in the form of china cups and saucers. Professionals, and members of the gentry and pseudo-gentry frequently had a hierarchy of bedrooms; the most luxurious and expensively furnished would probably have been used by the master and mistress of the house. ‘Back-stage’ rooms in higher middling rank households could be used as an extension of the ‘front-stage’ rooms of the parlour and dining room. Respected guests may have been allowed to progress from general public rooms to the more secluded and intimate space of the best room. The best rooms in large houses occasionally had accompanying closets.

The possession of closets with refined uses was linked to the size of the house, the status of the householder and their amount of leisure time. The few examples of closets in the three towns suggest that it was possibly the gentry who used these rooms as withdrawing spaces. However, not many closets were listed in the inventory sample, implying that private withdrawing space was probably not a priority in the three towns.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown that, even allowing for some ambiguity of room-use and the slowness to adapt to changing fashions, a clearly defined distinction emerges during this period between 'front-stage' and back-stage' rooms. Kitchens in most middling rank households were informal, multi-functional spaces that did not appear to be governed by the etiquette of politeness that was a feature of many 'front-stage' rooms. This chapter has attempted to redress the deficit of research on the function of bedchambers as living spaces; the use of these rooms probably depended on the status and wealth of the testator, as only wealthier or higher middling rank testators could have bedchambers with formal uses.

Conclusion

This study has examined domestic cultural consumption through the medium of household goods in the middling interiors of the provincial towns of Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury between 1660 and 1760. Four aspects have been analysed. The first aspect investigated the extent to which the possessions of the middling ranks reflected their social status. The second aspect analysed the geographical spread of new goods in the three towns to determine the extent to which economic circumstances and location influenced consumption. The third aspect determined how status and politeness was expressed in the early modern home. The fourth and final aspect ascertained what these factors could tell us about early modern consumers in the three towns.

The extent to which the possessions of the middling ranks reflected their social status

This study has produced an in-depth analysis of middling rank status based on the evidence of probate documents and taxation schedules. It has been shaped to an extent by the evaluation of what French defined 'a better inhabitant'.[805] Many of the people defined by historians as being from the higher middling ranks in the samples of Ludlow, Hereford and

[805] H. R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600-1750*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 107.

Tewkesbury were members of important and wealthy local families.[806] They would have been given the same respect as the gentry in their towns as this status was widely recognised and many of these individuals were described as gentlemen. A segment of society such as this consisting of wealthy and connected, but mainly landless, urban dwellers of middling or gentry origin has been defined as the 'pseudo gentry'. However, many of the defining characteristics of members of the higher middling ranks and lower gentry became blurred over time. This was due to a number of factors; many of the wealthy middling ranks bought up estates to become indistinguishable from the landed gentry within one or two generations; impoverished gentry families married into the wealthier middling ranks and younger sons of the gentry, seeking financial stability, often went into professions or mercantile trades with the intention of restoring their fortunes. Those that achieved their goal re-joined the gentry; those that missed their goal might marry into the wealthy middling ranks, or become one of the pseudo-gentry, living a provincial life in comfortable yet modest circumstances.

As Weatherill has suggested, the emerging professionals and wealthy tradesmen sometimes owned the same decorative goods as the gentry, or more.[807] The wealthiest members of the middling ranks used new and fashionable domestic goods to full effect, making their homes comfortable, polite and refined with, for example, looking glasses, pictures and china. But they also possessed abundant amounts of everyday domestic objects such as large quantities of kitchenware and bed linen. The amount of household goods could rival those owned for professional purposes by affluent innholders. It appears that successful self-made men, especially those that worked in unrefined trades, needed the language of decorative and everyday goods to express their claim to high status. Despite the careful cultivation by tradesmen of their homes into refined and polite spaces however, their true position in society was still demarcated by the status of their family and friends. French goes further by claiming the wealthiest members of the middling ranks used the ownership of fashionable furnishings and display goods as an 'intended new social barrier'. He argues that the chief inhabitants may have been only the top 5 or 10% of the middling ranks.[808] This illustrates that there was not a clear link between status and the amount and types of goods that were owned.

[806] French, *The Middle Sort*; French, 'Social Status, 'Localism and the "Middle Sort of People" in England 1620-1750', *Past and Present*, 166 (2000), 66-99. See also: Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (London: University of California Press, 1996); *The Middling Sort of People* ed. by Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1994).
[807] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 191.
[808] French, *The Middle Sort*, p. 264.

The extent to which economic circumstances and location influenced consumption

Although the initial intention of this study was to investigate the new and fashionable goods that were entering middling rank households, the findings show that the majority of the middling ranks from the three towns owned few new and decorative goods. The bulk of the testators were engaged in the intermediate and lesser trades. However, these less affluent traders who worked in the manufacturing, commercial and dealing occupations seem to have recognised the desirability of new goods, but most re-invested their profits to improve the viability of the business. Consequently, despite the affordability of semi-durable items, they owned few themselves, with some exceptions. Many households made only slight modifications to existing domestic behaviour. Nonetheless, attempts were made at refinement in some households, with elements of fashionable living replicated through the acquisition and display of decorative elements. Some lesser tradesmen, seeking to give their homes a vestige of polite living, acquired or purchased old or second hand objects. Although intermediate and lower middling ranks re-invested in their businesses to improve their economic situation rather than purchasing new and fashionable goods, many may not have benefitted from this endeavour as their financial position, always precarious, could be eroded by family or business crises. Some, however, may have acquired expensive fashionable or quality items through inheritance, or as a form of investment as in the instance of silver, gold or jewellery, for example.

The spread of the consumer revolution in Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury was a slow and gradual process for the majority of the middling ranks. This was not due to problems of distribution; rather it was the slow adoption of fashionable goods into homes. However, in one area new goods did make an impact. Hot drinks and new modes of dining with semi-durable eating and drinking ware gradually became a part of daily life. New fashionable goods allowed some sections of the middling ranks to differentiate themselves from their predecessors in a process of self-invention and elevation. French claims that only a minority of the middle ranks sought to be viewed as genteel, possibly explaining the partial attraction of new goods to this section of society.[809]

Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury were important medium sized towns that were vital to their hinterlands, but had different functions and may have attracted different segments of

[809] French, *The Middle Sort*, p. 264.

society to settle in them. By the end of the period, the transformation of Ludlow into a leisure town was well under way with an emerging class of wealthy attorneys, doctors and politicians buying up and building large houses. Although larger towns such as Bath and York would have attracted the titled and important members of the gentry, nevertheless Ludlow from the 1730s was creating a modestly successful reputation as a leisure town for polite society. The majority of the townspeople in the sample were artisans, lesser ranking tradesmen and similar ranking spinsters and widows. This segment of society benefited directly or indirectly from the ability of the town to attract the wealthy by manufacturing and selling goods, or providing services. Most of the lesser tradesmen were aware of new commodities, and some owned small quantities of pewter and linen, but the ownership of decorative goods and hot drink equipage was probably rare. This possibly suggests that living in a leisure town did not necessarily encourage the majority of the middling ranks to consume. The Hereford and Tewkesbury samples indicate there were similar percentages of female heads of households as in Ludlow, though it has been argued that the Ludlow, as a leisure town, attracted this particular social group.[810] The similarity across the three towns possibly indicates that it was not that unusual to have women running their own households. However, this may complicate what was seen as a feature of a leisure town. More towns of different status would need to be examined for comparison; perhaps an industrial town such as Wolverhampton.

Hereford remained an important urban centre as the county capital for Herefordshire with its vital ecclesiastical, administrative and legal roles, especially the assizes. Hereford was not as well-connected as Ludlow and its historic trade links with Wales may have further removed the city from the vibrant polite culture of the south. Nevertheless, as a city with a large hinterland its influence spread through Herefordshire and into Wales, and it also offered good shopping opportunities. Many of the middling ranks may have resided in Hereford because it was cheaper to live there than in more fashionable towns. However, it was less visually appealing than Ludlow, with haphazard planning and properties that lacked investment and modernisation. The unattractive townscape possibly gave the middling ranks an increased desire to make their domestic environment as pleasing as they could afford. The Hereford inventory sample shows that higher percentages of expressive goods were located in this

[810] S. J. Wright, 'Holding up Half the Sky: Women and their Occupations in Eighteenth-Century Ludlow', *Midland History*, 14 (1989), p. 54.

town, though not the most valuable, such as silver, suggesting that testators were aware of expressive goods, but were possibly limited for choice by financial means.

During the period under consideration, Tewkesbury remained a manufacturing centre but its importance as an inland port lay in the recent past. The town was overshadowed as a centre for fashionable culture by its bigger rivals, Gloucester and Bristol, which were more attractive as urban centres and where the landed gentry could maintain town houses. However, in Tewkesbury the affluent lived in substantial houses in the main streets, and the town had an important role as a stopping off place en route to other destinations. This meant that by the third decade of the eighteenth-century large luxurious inns and some quality shops, such as goldsmiths and mercers, catered for polite fashionable people. However, the lack of refined leisure facilities and resident gentry in the town meant the visiting wealthy mainly passed through. The middling ranks in the Tewkesbury sample seemed to have owned fewer expressive goods than those in the samples of Ludlow and Hereford; this possibly reflects the more modest resources of many of the testators in Tewkesbury or suggests that they were more cautious and conservative in their spending habits. The long history of almost annual flooding possibly influenced consumption habits. Those that lived near the Avon or Severn may not have invested in new commodities due to the continual risk of damage. The less well-off inhabited small cottages and dwellings down side streets and alleys close to the middling ranks.

This study, through the investigation of the probate documents of three dissimilar, but geographically neighbouring towns has found that to some extent the type of urban centre inhabited by the middling ranks could influence consumption habits. This probably contributed to the slower rate of consumption in these places than other larger and more cosmopolitan towns. The status of Ludlow as a leisure town did not encourage the bulk of its inhabitants in the sample to own fashionable goods. Likewise, the status of Tewkesbury as an unfashionable inland port and manufacturing centre probably did not encourage many of the middling ranks to participate in fashionable consumption. On the other hand, some of the people who lived there quietly may have chosen to eschew modern consumption habits. The county town of Hereford, which appeared to be the most removed from fashionable culture, paradoxically had the highest amounts of expressive goods amongst the middling ranks. This suggests that the consumption of new goods amongst this group was more likely in a county

town with an important administrative status, than in a leisure town or an inland port and manufacturing town.

Status and politeness in the early modern home

The extent to which politeness was expressed in the home through expressive goods depended on the lifestyle, employment and economic circumstances of the testator. The evidence from the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample indicates that yeomen, who had previously operated in the same sphere as the rural gentry, were falling behind wealthy tradesmen in the consumption hierarchy. Many yeomen were in a strong financial position with land and capital to begin new enterprises. Some of these individuals became involved in earthenware manufacture or innholding.[811] However, it seems that yeomen mainly preferred to reinvest profits back into their businesses, rather than spend surplus money on luxury household goods. Their reluctance to embrace new ways of living meant that they were increasingly excluded from materialistic society. If yeomen purchased households goods, it is likely these were items that had established prestige and value, for example, quantities of serving pewter.

Women were frequently viewed by contemporaries as being a driving force behind consumerism.[812] However, the probate documents of women in the three town sample imply that the majority of single women struggled financially.[813] Women, seen through the evidence of their wills, appeared to be more attached to their possessions, but this could have been due to an absence of owning real estate and money. Richer women were able to bequeath small items of transferable wealth, for example, jewellery, small sums of money and clothes, whilst the less affluent divided household goods between friends and family members.

The probate sample reveals that many women were employed in some form of trade with the majority of women from the lower middling ranks assisting their husbands in lesser trades. Most of the wealth of women came from inheritance or was family money. Nonetheless, the type of woman that had the leisure time and the means to shop for new goods and novelties

[811] For example, Richard Plummer was an earthenware maker and seller. He also had an inn and a number of leases. Hereford, Hereford Record Office, Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-3, Richard Plummer, 1692.
[812] Maxine Berg, 'Women's Consumption and the Industrial Classes of Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Social History*, 30, 2 (1996), p. 415.
[813]The majority of the moveable goods of women were assessed at £50 or under. There was only one woman in the Ludlow sample, (1.09%), and three women in the Hereford sample, (2.05%) whose movables were valued at £150 or more.

probably were the wives and daughters of the wealthy higher middling ranks or members of the gentry. Amongst the wealthy, the success of the husband or father was measured by the leisurely lifestyle of his female relations and here the source does not help to explore this.

This study has argued that more exclusive homes became stages to display new and decorative goods; 'front-stage' rooms became the ideal medium to project ideas of wealth and taste. Parlours superseded halls around 1700 because the nature of urban living changed. Domestic entertaining amongst the wealthy moved away from large numbers of people eating and drinking in a large open space to a small number of family, friends and acquaintances politely taking tea or dining in a well-furnished smaller room.

The refinement of 'front-stage' rooms was a slow process amongst the middling ranks. Changes were adopted more rapidly by the affluent, whilst the lower middling ranks assumed elements of polite culture and living that suited their circumstances. Modifications that occurred were the removal of the majority of cooking and serving paraphernalia from 'front-stage' rooms, these were stored in the kitchen. This was due to the appeal of traditional pewter and even silver waning, when compared with fashionable quality china, glass and earthenware. Ceramics did not conduct heat and therefore were more suitable to hold the fashionable hot drinks of tea, coffee and hot chocolate. Polite households with decorative 'front-stage' rooms contained a number of expressive items. Indications of 'a fundamental shift in domestic life' were the adoption of oval tables and uniform chairs, the use of knives and forks and the decline of objects connected with possets and caudles.[814] Many parlours were situated on the ground floor allowing new expressive goods to be seen from the street. This investment in fashionable goods would have been particularly effective in prestigious areas of towns.

The bulk of the lower middling ranks that lacked social connections and wealth were reluctant or unable to abandon their traditional way of life and diet. Nevertheless some piecemeal changes were made to 'front-stage' rooms: beds were removed from parlours and most testators owned at least one kind of expressive goods.[815] This was possible because commodities could be purchased or inherited in a range of qualities. The majority of the

[814] Eleanor John, 'At Home with the London Middling Sort- The Inventory Evidence for Furnishings and Room Use, 1570-1720,' *Regional Furniture*, 22 (2008), p. 40.
[815] Weatherill also concluded there were limits to consumption with those at the bottom of the status hierarchy sometimes only owning one fashionable item. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, pp. 191-2.

middling ranks appeared to own goods that suited their economic status. However, not all households developed clearly defined ‘front’ or ‘back-stage’ uses. Multi- functionality, a key aspect of the early modern household persisted well into the eighteenth century. This could also be a result of lack of space as less affluent families sometimes lived in just one room. The kitchen remained a multi-functional space in both polite and less refined households as it was an everyday essential space which fulfilled a number of requirements.

The ‘back-stage’ areas of the house were mainly the bedrooms, garrets and cellars, but there were also outbuildings and specialised places for the production or storage of commodities or foodstuffs; the size of these buildings and the amount of equipment was related to the wealth of the testator. These were often workshops, brew houses and dairies. The types of ‘back-stage’ rooms in the inventory sample from the three towns that showed the greatest diversity were bedrooms. The refined use of these rooms depended on the affluence of the householder and the size of the home. Some large households had a hierarchy of bedrooms and occasionally, best bedrooms had closets. Closets were rarely recorded in the three town sample, and it appears that these small rooms were not commonly used as withdrawing space. The importance of bedrooms was probably determined by size, the expense of furnishings and whether they had ‘front-stage’ functions. The lowest grade of bedrooms seems to have been servants’ rooms that were also used for the storage of domestic or trade goods. The majority of ‘back-stage’ rooms did not contain new and decorative goods, unless they were part of the domestic eating and entertaining space. It is possible that polite living could only take place in households that had a suitable number of rooms to permit specialised room use and a division of domestic behaviour. Further down the economic scale, lower middling rank tradesmen probably had a less refined division of bedchambers and ‘front-stage’ uses of these rooms may not have been common.

This study indicates that lifestyle, employment and economic circumstances were important factors influencing polite living; it could mean different things to individuals from a variety of backgrounds. For example polite living meant different things to a member of the gentry who occupied a large town house than to a tradesman who resided above his shop, although some decorative elements might have been similar. Polite living held its own appeal, but it may also have been a method by which aspiring tradesmen displayed their real or perceived social status and wealth to their peers.

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Bibliographical information on the testators from the Ludlow, Hereford and Tewkesbury sample, 1662-1753

Information on the testators from the three town sample has been limited due to restrictions on the amount of ancillary data that can be included.

Ludlow

All the Ludlow probate documents, except the documents proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury have the same reference number from Hereford Record Office of AA20. They are in alphabetical order.

1662/3

Allen, William, Husbandman/Corviser. Inventory and will proved 1.7.1662, valued at £6.00.08. He gave his wife half of the house 'without the trouble or molestation of his daughter'. He owned basic goods.

Clent, Francis, Haberdasher. Inventory exhibited 25.2.1662, valued at £66.16.07½. Clent sold hats and groceries and operated his shop from the inn of his father, *The Red Lion* in Old Street.[816] Clent was buried in Ludlow aged twenty-one and was a bachelor.[817] His father lived with his wife, three children, a manservant and a maidservant in the 1677 Poll Tax. He paid £0.07.00. In the 1672 Hearth Tax, he paid £1 tax for his ten hearths. Clent had been a churchwarden.[818]

[816] Tony Hobbs, *The Pubs of Ludlow* (Logaston: Logaston Press, 2002), p. 127.
[817] Clent was born in 1641. *Shropshire Parish Registers, Diocese of Hereford, Ludlow*, ed. by W. G. D. Fletcher, 15 vols (Shrewsbury: Shropshire Parish Register Society, 1912), VIII, p. 208.
[818] Jones, Llewellyn, 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow, (1629-1749)', 2, *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, 23 vols (1878-1900), IV (1892), 118-284, (159).

Hould, Florence, Widow. Inventory exhibited 10.6.1662 and valued at £6.03.06. Hould lived in Mill Street; she leased her house and owned basic goods. She was buried in Ludlow.

Jones, John. Inventory exhibited 25.2.1662 and valued at £11.15.04. Jones was churchwarden in 1635-6.[819] He owned few goods and was owed £4.17.00. Jones was buried in Ludlow aged seventy-two.[820]

Nash, Arthur, Husbandman. Inventory exhibited in 26.3.1662 and valued at £16.10.04. His home contained basic goods. Nash owned sheep and swine.

Philips, Richard. Inventory and will proved 13.5.1662. Philips' inventory was valued at £46.12.00 and listed bonds and clothes. He was a bachelor and gave money to his family. Philips was buried in Ludlow in 1661.

Reignolds, Robert, Parish Clerk. Will made 1662 and proved 24.7.1666. Reignolds lived in Mill Street with his wife; he gave his eldest son the house and contents if he was 'obedient and careful' to his mother and educated his brother. Reignolds was buried in Ludlow.
Reynolds, William, Bookseller/Bookbinder. Will proved 26.3.1662. Reynolds lived in Mill Street with his wife and their son.

Wilmott, William, Innkeeper/Glover. His inventory and will were proved 26.8.1662, and valued at £21.02.11. His gloves were valued at £8.18.09. His shop/inn was in Upper Broad Street with three hearths, (presently no. 59).[821] Wilmott was buried in Ludlow.

Bedoe, Thomas, Corviser. Inventory exhibited 1.9.1663 and valued at £163.19.08. Bedoe was owed £69 in good debts and £11 in bad debts; he owned £3 of plate. Bedoe died aged fifty-one and was buried in Ludlow.[822]

Colbatch, Philip, Shoemaker. Inventory and will proved 14.4.1663, valued at £27.06.06. His son and daughter were under twenty-one. He owned Raven House and property in Narrow Lane. He was buried in 1662 in Ludlow. Colbatch was the son of an alderman. His uncle, John Colbatch died in 1666-7, during his term as churchwarden; he was replaced by William Hinton.[823]

Earsley, Thomas, Corviser. Inventory exhibited 5.8.1663 and valued at £168.07.07. Earsley was also a maltster; he owned a furnace and two hundred bushels of malt. Earsley grew peas and kept swine and poultry.

Goodwyn, Ralph, (also spelt Goodwin) Esquire/M.P./Bureaucrat.
London, The National Archives, Inventory, (Ever after (TNA)), PROB 2/ 689, pp. 1-4, Ralph Goodwyn, 1663. Inventory and will proved in 1663 and valued at £1966.03.00, five years

[819] Jones, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', 129.
[820] He was born in 1590. *Shropshire Parish Registers*, ed. by Fletcher, p. 103.
[821] *The Shropshire Hearth-Tax Roll of 1672*, ed. by W. Watkins-Pitchford (Shrewsbury: Shropshire Archaeological and Parish Register Society, 1949), p. 164; Information provided by *The Ludlow Historical Research Group*.
[822] He was born in 1612. *Shropshire Parish Registers*, ed. by Fletcher, p. 144.
[823] Jones, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', 163.

after his death in 1658. Goodwyn was born in 1592.[824] He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; his degree was incorporated at Oxford University. Goodwyn was a Ludlow M.P.[825] He was fined £412 by Parliament.[826] Goodwyn was the deputy secretary for the Council of the Marches and held the position from 1626.[827]

The main residence was Castle Lodge, in Castle Square.[828] His other property was Eaton Grange, Herefordshire. This had belonged to his father-in-law, Wallop Brabazon.[829] He also had leases.[830] Despite two marriages Goodwyn died childless aged sixty-six. His estate at Much Cowarne was given to his brothers with a £20 gold ring. Goodwyn provided charity to the poor, rewarded his loyal servants and gave the nephew of his Cambridge tutor, £40. However, after the death of his wife, his estates escheated to the Crown.[831]

Hackluit, Thomas, Gentleman/Captain. Inventory and will proved 24.9.1663, valued at £461.13.08. He was born in 1601 and died aged sixty-two.[832] His wealth was in good debts, (£384). He was the son of Colonel Philip Hackluit and lived in Old Street in what became *The Red Lion* inn.[833] Family members were given money, and his executors were bought £10 mourning cloaks. He had at least one lodger. Hackluit bequeathed £20 and his goods to his loyal maidservant. Ralph Sharrett and Francis Clent, Senior assessed his inventory. He was buried in Ludlow.

Jones, Sarah, Widow. Inventory and will proved 10.1.1663, valued at £17.11.10. She was buried in Ludlow and was a member of the lower gentry. Her estate was left to her executors; John Haughton and his wife of Ludlow castle. Jones owned silver and some gold jewellery. She paid for gloves for friends and family members and gave charity to the poor.

Stead, Margery, Widow. Inventory and will proved 7.4.1663, valued at £334.12.08, with £253.06.06 being money and debts. Her deceased husband was Walter Stead and she was elderly with two granddaughters. Her sons-in-laws were from mercer families. She bequeathed gold rings to relatives and was buried in Ludlow.

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[824]1592 Rauffe Goodwin the sonne of Rauffe Goodwine and Cicilie his wife, baptized the first day of October. St. Clement's Church, Ipswich, Suffolk. Frank Farnsworth Starr, *English Goodwin Family Papers: Being Material Collected in the Research for the Ancestry of William and Ozias Goodwin, Immigrants of 1632 and Residents of Hartford* (Hartford: Conn, 1921), p. 137. <http://archive.org/details/englishgoodwinfa01star> Accessed [13 July 2012]

[825] This was in 1624, 1625, 1626 and 1628. He was re-elected for both the Short and Long Parliaments of 1640, but was disabled from sitting in 1644. <http://.www.historyof parliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/goodwin-ralph-1658> Accessed [13 February 2014]

[826] F. Stackhouse Acton, *The Garrisons of Shropshire during the Civil War, 1642-48*, Facsimile edition (Doncaster: Imperial Press, 1867 Reprinted 1990), p. 19.

[827] Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow* (Ludlow: Merlin Unwin, 1999), p. 99.

[828] Before Goodwyn lived in Castle Lodge, he leased no. 2 Dinham from Ludlow Corporation in 1619. Castle Lodge, Castle Square, Ludlow. Ludlow Library & Museum Resource Centre <http://www.discovershropshire.org.uk/html/search/verb/GetRecord/theme:20080716115926> Accessed [13 July 2012]

[829]Wallop Brabazon of Eaton Grange. Research by Jan Barnes <http://www.brabazonarchive.com/pages/wallop%20Brabazon.htm> Accessed [13 July 2012]

[830] One of these *The Rose and Crown,* an inn leased from Ludlow Corporation was sub-let at a profit. Hobbs, *The Pubs of Ludlow*, p. 46.

[831] <http://.www.historyof parliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/goodwin-ralph-1658> Accessed [13 February 2014]

[832] He was born in 1601. *Shropshire Parish Registers*, ed. by Fletcher, p. 123.

[833] His home became *The Red Lion* inn. M.E. Speight and D. J. Lloyd, 'Ludlow Houses and Their Residents', *Ludlow Research Paper*, 1 (1980), 11.

1672/3

Byford alias Compton, Audrey, Servant. Inventory and will proved 1672, valued at £29.10.09. Her masters, Richard Scott of *The Crown* and Thomas Mitchell were allowed to keep the money they had safeguarded for her, (apart from £0.37.00). She owned twenty-nine sheep, valued at £5. Byford had a petticoat from Edmond Colbatch, a baker, in pawn to her for £0.10.00. She was buried in Ludlow.

Clibery, Thomas, Corviser. Inventory and will proved 26.3.1672, valued at £38.19.00. He was sixty-six.[834] Clibery lived in the Old Street and Galdeford Ward, and was recorded in the 1667 Poll Tax as living with his wife and two maidservants; Clibery paid £0.04.00. His widow in the 1672 Hearth Tax had three hearths and paid £0.06.00 tax. He was buried in Ludlow in 1671.

Collier, Richard, Mason. Inventory exhibited 25.6.1672, valued at £37.19.05. He lived in a rented property in Broad Street. The 1672 Hearth Tax recorded his widow as living in a house with four hearths; she paid £0.08.00 tax.[835] Collier was buried in Ludlow aged forty-three.[836]

Hunt, Thomas, Corviser/Widower. Inventory exhibited 22.11.1672 and valued at £72.10.05½. He lived in the Castle Ward area in a house with two hearths, paying £0.04.00 tax. Hunt was buried in Ludlow. In the 1667 Poll Tax, he lived with his daughter, for which he paid £0.02.00 tax.

Freeman, Thomas, Esquire. Will made 1672 and proved 17.9.1674. Freeman lived alone in the Castle Ward, paying £0.01.00 in the 1667 Poll Tax. He gave money to the poor of six parishes. He was buried in Ludlow.

Maund, Margery, Widow. Inventory and will proved 20.8.1672, valued at £10.18.06. She asked her brother to educate her son.

Sharrett, Ralph, Gentleman/ Alderman/Baker. Inventory exhibited 27.7.1677, valued at £122.01.04. The will was made in 1672. Sharrrett was churchwarden in 1673-4. He died aged seventy, and was on the Corporation of Ludlow between 1658 and 1677. Sharrett held the privileged posts of Low Bailiff in 1663 and High Bailiff in 1673.[837] In the 1667 Poll Tax, he lived in the Old Street and Galdeford Ward with his wife, three children and a maidservant; paying £0.07.00.[838] Sharrett paid £0.08.00 Hearth Tax for his four hearths in 1672.[839] He held the leases for three houses in Galdeford and property in Castle Square. His widow, died in 1685. She retained two leases, but the value of her goods fell to £40.12.06.[840] She lived with one of her children.[841]

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[834] He was born in 1606. *Shropshire Parish Registers*, ed. by Fletcher, p. 133.
[835] The Shropshire Hearth Tax, ed. by Watkins- Pitchford, p. 164.
[836] He was born in 1629. *Shropshire Parish Registers*, ed. by Fletcher, p. 180.
[837] He was born in 1607. *Shropshire Parish Registers*, ed. by Fletcher, p. 133; Jones, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', 166; *Members of Ludlow Borough Corporation, 1660-1832,* compiled by *The Ludlow Historical Research Group.*
[838] M. A. Faraday, 'The Ludlow Poll-Tax Return of 1667', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, 59, 2 (1971/2), 104-123, (118).
[839] *The Shropshire Hearth Tax*, ed. by Watkins-Pitchford, p. 166.
[840] Hereford, Hereford Record Office, (Ever after (HRO)), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, Margaret Sharrett, 1685.
[841] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, p. 1, Margaret Sharrett, 1685.

Blackpatch, Richard, Miller/Innholder. Inventory and will proved 22.7.1673, valued at £8.17.00. He owned *The Star* in Broad Street, which he left to his wife. [842] He was buried in 1672 in Ludlow.

Davies, Evan, Saddler. Inventory and will proved 8.4.1673, valued at £39.16.08. He bequeathed goods to family members, specifying that the clothes and linen owned by his wife were to be given to their daughter when she reached seventeen years. His house and shop was no. 4 King Street. The property had seven hearths.

Langford, Charles. Inventory exhibited 18.2.1673 and was valued at £154. He was owed an annuity of £10 a year for seventeen years, £60 by bond and £2.05.00. Langford was buried in Ludlow in 1672.

Thomas, Arthur, Dyer, Inventory and will exhibited 16.6.1674, valued at £29.15.02. His house in Broad Street was given to his second son. Thomas owned land in Stowe and Bucknell. He lived with his wife, two children, a journeyman and an apprentice; paying £0.06.00 Poll Tax. He had eight children and a property with two hearths in 1672, paying £0.04.00 tax.

Winston the Elder, Thomas, Gentleman/Yeoman. Inventory and will proved 13.1.1673, valued at £39.18.06. Winston asked his wife not to 'make any wilful waste' of his goods. He owned two leases.[843] He lived with his wife in the 1667 Poll Tax and paid £0.02.00.[844] In the 1672 Hearth Tax, his property had four hearths; Winston paid £0.08.00 tax. He was buried in Ludlow.

1682/3

Bodell, Thomas, Yeoman. Inventory exhibited 12.7.1682, and valued at £1.18.06. He lived alone according to the 1667 Poll Tax in the Old Street and Galdeford Ward. Bodell paid £0.01.00 tax.

Chirme, Benjamin, Weaver. Inventory exhibited 11.7.1682 and valued at £38.05.02. Chirme lived in the Castle Ward with his family in the 1677 Poll Tax and paid £0.07.00. He was the 'clerk of the parish'. His funeral cost £1.10.00 and the administration charge was £0.10.06; after his debts were paid his widow was left £25.15.08.

Davies, Edward, Apothecary.
(TNA), Will, PROB 11/372/183, pp. 1-4, Edward Davies, 1682. Davies lived at 18 Broad Street.[845] He was buried in Ludlow aged forty-six.[846] His wife remarried and her second husband was Doctor Atkinson; her children by two husbands were left property.[847] Like his father, he had been a member of the Corporation, (between 1669 and 1681) he achieved the rank of Low Bailiff in 1677. His son, Richard Davies lived in Stanton Lacy and followed in the footsteps of his grandfather by being a member of the Corporation.

[842] Hobbs, *The Pubs of Ludlow*, p. 61.
[843] One was in Old Street leased from Ludlow Corporation and the other was in Upper Galdeford.
[844] Faraday, 'The Ludlow Poll-Tax Return of 1667', 120.
[845] Information from *The Ludlow Historical Society*.
[846] He was born in 1636. *Shropshire Parish Registers*, ed. by Fletcher, p. 197.
[847] (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, Mary Davies, 169.

Evans, Thomas, Glover. Inventory proved 1682, valued at £11. This debt was due from William Taylor. Evans was churchwarden, 1668-9, his fellow warden had left town, leaving him to fulfil the duties.[848]

Houghton, George, Mercer.
(TNA), Will, PROB 11/420/359, pp.1-3, George Houghton, 1682. He was a member of Ludlow Borough Corporation between 1678 and 1684 and Low Bailiff in 1684.[849] Houghton owned Downton Hall, Herefordshire, which he gave his wife. In 1667, he lived with his sister and an apprentice in the Old Street and Galdeford Ward paying £0.06.00 Poll Tax. His brother was churchwarden in 1677-8.[850]

Scott, Richard, Gentleman/Innholder, Inventory exhibited 23.11.1685, will made 1682, valued at £212.06.08. Scott was a member of Ludlow Corporation between 1661 and 1685.[851] *The Crown* had sixteen hearths in 1662, when Katherine Langton was innholder, she paid £1.16.00. Scott gave his wife £0.05.00 'and no more'; everything was left to his daughter. The 1667 Poll Tax recorded Scott living with his wife, daughter, four menservants and two maidservants, he paid £0.09.00.[852] He was buried in Ludlow.

Shilton, Thomas, Maltster. Inventory and will proved 1.12.1682, valued at £199.12.06. Shilton bequeathed his wife 'those goods which were her own before she was married'. The 1667 Poll Tax recorded Shilton as living in the Old Street and Galdeford Ward with two children and a maidservant whose wages were £0.20.00. He was recorded as Mr. Thomas Shelton living in a property with three hearths in the 1672 Hearth Tax. He paid £0.06.00 tax. Shilton was buried in Ludlow.

Charleton, Susanna, A Gentry Spinster.
(TNA), Will, PROB 11/378/38, pp. 1-3, Susanna Charleton, 1684. The will was made in 1683. She left money, a pearl necklace and a diamond ring to family members. She was buried in Ludlow.

Davies, Richard, Apothecary/Gentleman/Alderman. Inventory and will proved 11.2.1683, valued at £555.10.00. He was a member of one of the local dynasty families; his son and grandson were described as gentlemen and served in local government. Davies was churchwarden between 1665-6 and a member of the town council between 1636 and 1683; he was Low Bailiff in 1643; and High Bailiff four times.[853] Davies lived above his shop, but owned property called 'The Crabb Mill'. His house contained maps, pictures, china dishes and glassware. In the 1667 Poll Tax, he was recorded as a gentleman, living with his wife, five children and a maidservant. He paid £1.09.00 tax. The 1672 Hearth Tax described Davies as living in the Galdeford Ward in a property with eight hearths, he paid £0.12.00 tax. Davies was buried in Ludlow. His wife died in 1689, their son was also an apothecary, but died in 1682.[854] Davies died aged seventy-two.[855]

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[848] Jones 'Churchwardens' Accounts', 132.
[849] *Members of Ludlow Borough Corporation*.
[850] Jones, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', 168.
[851] He held the rank of Low Bailiff in 1672. *Members of Ludlow Borough Corporation.*
[852] Scott claimed his servants were paid less than £0.10.00 and he was recorded as an innholder, rather than a gentleman.
[853] Jones, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', 162; Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow*, p. 122.
[854] London, The National Archives, (Ever after (TNA)), PROB 11/372/183, Edward Davies, 1682.
[855] He was born in 1611. *Shropshire Parish Registers*, ed. by Fletcher, p. 141.

Jones, Margaret, A Widow of a Mercer. Inventory and will proved 29.4.1683, valued at £23.06.08. Jones bequeathed goods to her sons. She lived in 'Shoemaker's Row'. She lived in the Castle Ward area in the 1667 Poll Tax and paid £0.11.00 tax. Jones dwelt in a property with six hearths and paid £0.12.00 tax. She was buried in Ludlow.

Payne the Senior, Nicolas, Chandler. Inventory exhibited 20.3.1683 and valued at £67.08.11. He kept livestock and sold grain. Payne owned a silver tobacco box and a silver bowl. Payne lived in a property with three hearths in the Broad Street Ward; he paid £0.06.00 tax. He was churchwarden in 1673-4 with Ralph Sharratt.[856]

Stedman, Henry, Gentleman/Yeoman. Inventory and will proved 11.2.1683, valued at £32.07.06. Stedman owned lands in Corfton, Diddlebury and Eaton in Herefordshire. In the 1677 Poll Tax; he paid £0.04.00. Stedman lived in Broad Street, on a 'one third burgage site'; this would now be between no's 39 and 40.[857] Stedman was buried in Ludlow.

Stuckley, Edmond. Inventory and will proved 25.4.1683, valued at £7.10.06. He left his goods to his wife and gave his two daughters £0.01.00 each.
Winwood, Ralph, Custodian of the Castle. Inventory proved 11.2.1683, valued at £25. His son was Arthur also a custodian. Winwood had a mare, two pigs and desperate debts of £10.

1692/3

Beck, William, Yeoman. Inventory and will proved 29.11.1692, valued at £42.02.00. A William Beck lived in the Broad Street Ward according to the Poll and Hearth Taxes; he may have moved as Beck later lived in Galdeford and operated an inn.

Davies, Elianor, Widow. Inventory exhibited 5.7.1692, valued at £4.08.06. Davies owned basic goods assessed at £0.10.00. She may have been a baker.

Owen, Martha, Widow. Will proved 24.1.1692. She had two married daughters. One of her son-in-laws was a mercer. Owen had six grandchildren. She was buried in 1689 in Ludlow.

Plummer, Richard, Yeoman/Chandler/Earthenware Maker and Seller. Inventory and will proved 3.5.1692, valued at £417.13.08. Plummer leased three houses and an inn. The inn may have been the property with four hearths recorded in the 1672 Poll Tax in Galdeford ward. Plummer also owned two warehouses and a shop. His chandler's shop was situated in the Bull Ring. The value of his household goods was £47.10.00. He married Margaret Evans in 1663 and they had five children between 1665 and 1681; two died in infancy.[858] A son was churchwarden in 1706-7, as was a grandson in 1730-1.[859]

Purefoy, Michael, Gentleman,
(TNA), Will, PROB 11/410/395, pp. 1-3, Michael Purefoy, proved 1692. He left his estate to his wife and was buried in Ludlow.

[856] Jones, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', 166.
[857] Speight and Lloyd, 'Ludlow Houses', p.11.
[858] This left Christian, Richard and Margaret. Richard Plumer <http://histfam.familysearch.org/getperson.php?personID=I1476468tree=Nixon> Accessed [6 November 2012]
[859] Jones, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', 180, 189.

Archer, William, Gentleman.
(TNA), Will, PROB 11/424/185, pp. 1-3, William Archer, 1695. Will made 1693. Archer and his wife were buried within a month of each other. Archer lived in the Castle Ward and paid £1.06.00 Poll Tax. The 1672 Hearth Tax levied £1.10.00 for his property with fifteen hearths; this was likely to be the college.[860] Archer owned land in Welland, Worcestershire, property in Narrow Lane and a mill and meadow near the New Bridge in Ludlow. He was buried in Ludlow.

Cupper, Mr. Richard, Corviser. Inventory exhibited 3.9.1693, valued at £195.11.03. He was a long serving member of the town council between 1653 and 1692. Cupper became Low Bailiff in 1664 and High Bailiff in 1677. His house lease in Narrow Lane was valued at £30. He owned some silver objects. Cupper also had the lease of an estate in Holton valued at £100, a tenement in 'Merivall' (£5), and a meadow near the castle, valued at £16. He was buried in Ludlow in 1692 aged seventy-two.[861]

Hill, Elizabeth, Spinster. Inventory and will proved 2.8.1693, valued at £14.14.06. She lodged in a room and died aged seventy-seven.[862]
Horsenett, William, Yeoman. Inventory exhibited 16.5.1693, valued at £30.17.06. He lived with his wife in the Old Street and Galdeford Ward in 1677 and paid £0.02.00 Poll Tax. In 1672, his property had three hearths, he paid £0.06.00 Hearth Tax. Horsenett was buried in Ludlow.

Minton, Elianor, Spinster. Inventory and will proved 13.6.1693, valued at £15.17.00. She owned clothes, household linen in two trunks, a bible, rings and money. It is likely she lived with her executrices; her mother and her sister.

Powis, Margery, Widow. Will made 3.4.1693, proved 1695. Powis left her brother £0.20.00 a month in case he became blind or lame and unable to work. She gave her daughter, money 'in no way to be intermeddled by her husband'.

Woodall, Edward, Carpenter. Inventory exhibited 24.10.1693, valued at £15.18.00. He lived in the Castle Ward and paid £0.03.00 Hearth Tax with his family. Woodall had five rooms in his house. His money and clothes were valued at £1.10.00. Owen was buried in Ludlow.

Wright, George, Nailer. Inventory and will proved 2.1.1693, valued at £45.09.02. The family home joined on to *The Feather's* in the Bull Ring. Wright owned a shop; the contents were £3.02.02. Nail production occurred in his working shop. The house and shop was demolished or incorporated into the later extension of *The Feather's*. He owned basic goods, but had a silver spoon. Wright left his son, his property 'providing he match with my consent'. In 1729, his daughter-in-law lived in the Old Street Ward, implying he approved of the choice of bride.[863] He was buried in Ludlow.

1702/3

Buckston, William, Collermaker. Inventory and will proved 14.7.1702, valued at £6.06.00. He owned a house and a 'backside and garden in Broad Street below the gate'. Buckston lived in

[860] (TNA), Will, PROB 11/424/185, Margery Archer, 1695.
[861] He was born in 1621. *Shropshire Parish Registers*, ed. by Fletcher, p. 164.
[862] She was born in 1616. *Shropshire Parish Registers*, ed. by Fletcher, p. 152.
[863] (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, Mary Wright, 1729.

the St. John's area of the town. Two of his sons were cut off with £0.01.0, a daughter was given £0.02.06 and his goods were shared between his wife and three other children. He was buried at Ludford.

Bulkeley, Dr Richard, Rector. Will proved 21.5.1702. He was born at Clay Felton, Shropshire in 1657-8 and died aged forty-three. Bulkeley was educated at Balliol College, Oxford and gained the degrees B.A, M.A. and D. and D.D. by 1691. He was Canon of Hereford in 1684 and Rector of Ludlow in 1685.[864] Bulkeley left his estate to his wife. He was buried in 1701 in Ludlow. His son, Benjamin also went into divinity; he attained the same degrees as his father from Christ Church and Pembroke College by 1731.[865]

Colbatch, John and Elizabeth. Wills proved 10.6.1702. They were buried nine days apart in Ludlow; he died aged seventy-three.[866] John Colbatch had been a member of Ludlow Corporation since 1690 and was described as a clothier.[867]
Davenport, William. Inventory and will proved 19.5.1702, valued at £21.13.04. He had lived with his wife, Anne and their five children, one was cut off. The others had £30 divided between them. His daughter, Martha was made executrix. He was buried at Ludlow in 1701.

Evans, Francis, Tailor. Inventory and will proved 3.11.1702, valued at £18.06.00. He lived in Old Street with his wife, who was left his goods. They owned a bible and books. Evans was buried in Ludlow.

Haughton, John, Widower. Inventory and will proved 18.12.1702, valued at £81.10.00. Haughton was a lodger in the house of Dorothy Kennett. He owned silver and books, and was owed £68 in debts. Haughton was buried in Ludlow.

Winwood, Arthur. Inventory exhibited 21.5.1702, valued at £10.14.06. He was the castle custodian, which allowed him to store goods and keep pigs. Winwood had the lease of his house and property at Hanley Childe, Worcestershire.

Brasier, Nathaniel, Corviser. Inventory and will proved 14.3.1703, valued at £204. He had two £20 house leases in Narrow Lane and 'Galvert,' [possibly Galdeford].

Burrard, The Honourable Mrs Alice, Widow.
(TNA), Will, PROB 11/473/34, pp. 1-4, Alice Burrard, 1703. She was the second wife of John Burrard of Lymington and the daughter of Richard Herbert, Second Baron Herbert of Chirbury and of Castle Island in Ireland.[868] She was born in 1647 and died aged fifty-six. Burrard paid £50 for a marble memorial stone to be erected in the Lady Chapel of St. Laurence in Ludlow. She also had connections to the Sprott family. Burrard left specific instructions about the purchase of mourning jewellery and she left money to her servants, relatives and the poor.

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[864] Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714, Institute of Historical Research, pp. 201-27. <www.rescript.org/article.aspx?p=1&a=3167> Accessed [28 September 2012]
[865] He held numerous ecclesiastical positions and published sermons in Somerset and Essex before becoming a prebendary of St. Paul's, London, (1742- 1757). Alumni Oxonienses, pp. 201-27. <www.rescript.org/article.aspx?p=1&a=3167> Accessed [28 September 2012]
[866] He was born in 1629. *Shropshire Parish Registers*, ed. by Fletcher, p. 180.
[867] *Members of Ludlow Borough Corporation*.
[868] Burrard, John (1646-96), of Walhampton, nr. Lymington, Hants. <history of parliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/burrard-john-1646-98> Accessed [18 February 2014]

Prince, Edward, Yeoman. Inventory exhibited 3.8.1703, valued at £11.15.04. He had a lease for a small tenement valued at £7.

Williams, Jane, Innholder, Wife of Joseph Williams. Inventory and will proved 25.7.1703, valued at £41.10.00. Williams had goods and a ninety-nine year tenement lease in Silvington, Shropshire valued at £30.

1712/1713

Acton, John, Gentleman/ Glover. Will proved 23.9.1712. Acton was churchwarden in 1677-8 and a Corporation member from 1690.[869] Acton had leases in Broadstone in Munslow, property in Cainham, three houses and land in Corve Street, a messuage in Linney, two shops at Ludlow Cross under 'ye Newhouse' and several acres of land around Ludlow. Acton also had the income from the town tolls. He was buried in Ludlow.

Bishop, Anne, Widow.
(TNA), Will, PROB 11/531/7, pp. 1-4, Anne Bishop, 1712. She was married to Henry Bishop, a Ludlow gentleman. He was churchwarden 1663-4.[870] Bishop was a lawyer and a member of Ludlow Corporation from 1688. He had an estate in Stoke St. Milborough. Bishop died in 1697; making his wife executrix and responsible for their four children.[871] Two of their sons became lawyers in London, and his brother-in-law was a clerk at Gray's Inn. She was buried in Ludlow.

Martin, Thomas, Weaver. Will proved 13.5.1712. He was a widower with a daughter, married to a tallow-chandler.

Oakley, Samuel, Yeoman/ Gentleman. Inventory and will, will made 1712, proved 16.2.1724, valued at £17.18.00. Oakley did not appear to be farming and may have retired. He was buried in Ludlow.

Unkles, William, Yeoman. Will proved 22.7.1712. He owned two houses. Unkles asked his wife to care for his children.[872] He was buried in Ludlow.

Stanley, Elizabeth, Spinster. Inventory exhibited 17.2.1712, valued at £107.01.06. Stanley kept goods at the homes of Mistress Whitney and Madam Stanley houses. She was buried Mrs Elizabeth Stanley in Ludlow. Her title may have been her occupation rather than her marital status.

Waring, William. Inventory made 1712, proved 10.7.1714, valued at £7.04.06. He was churchwarden 1683-4.[873] Waring owned only basic goods.

Jones, Jane, Spinster. Inventory and will proved 26.1.1713, valued at £375.03.10. She gave money to family members and friends. Jones' household goods amounted to almost £34,

[869] Jones 'Churchwardens' Accounts', p. 168.
[870] Jones,'Churchwardens' Accounts', p. 161.
[871] (TNA), Will, PROB 11/446/260, pp. 1-4, Henry Bishop, 1698.
[872] Unckles asked his wife to care for their children 'with sufficient education, maintenance and apparel until they are able to shift for themselves and no longer'.
[873] Jones, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', 170.

including £17.10.00 of plate. Her wealth was from her money lending business that accumulated £341.05.00, although some of this was desperate. She cut her brother off with £0.01.00.

Powell, Littleton, Esquire.
(TNA), Will, PROB 11/540/343, pp. 1-3, Littleton Powell, 1714. Will made 1713. He owned a farm at Heythrop in Oxfordshire and *The Bern* with land in Radnorshire. He was buried in Ludlow.

Rocke, Thomas, Gentleman. Inventory and will proved 16.6.1713, inventory valued at £114.03.06. His widow and niece lived in the Broad Street Ward in the 1718 Easter Book. Rocke had no children. He wished for his funeral not to cost more than £2. He owned silver spoons, a clock and a looking glass.[874] He was buried in 1712 in Ludlow.

Smith, Alice, Widow.
(TNA), Will, PROB 11/540/18, pp. 1-3, Alice Smith, 1714. Will made 1713. She had £3700; £25 a year was to be given to her kinswoman, Jane Owen. The rest was given to her executrix. She was buried in Ludlow.
Stanley, Thomas, Gentleman. Inventory and will proved 1713, valued at £111.00.06. Stanley gave his wife, her lands in Lyonshall and Staunton upon Arrow. He owned lands in Leominster, Kimbolton and Radnorshire. Stanley was buried in Ludlow.

Taylor, John, Dyer. Inventory and will proved 30.5.1713, valued at £70.07.08. Taylor was churchwarden 1692-3.[875] He cut his four children off. His wife had his house and trade equipment for six months and was not to be disturbed by her son. He was buried in Ludlow.

Wigmore, Aletheia, Spinster,
(TNA), Will, PROB 11/538/ 185, pp. 1-8, Aletheia Wigmore, 1714. Will made 1713. Benjamin Karver, gentleman and attorney produced the document. She had specific burial instructions.[876] Wigmore was buried in Ludlow.

Williams, Jane, Spinster. Will proved 22.9.1713. William had a meadow lease in Galdeford. Her cousin was Richard Salway Esquire. Her sister was given £8 in trust; this was not to be interfered with by her brother-in-law. Her two nieces were made executrixes. Williams was buried in Ludlow.

1722/3

Bishop, Richard, Gentleman. Will proved 6.11.1722. He left his land in Stoke St. Millborough, Shropshire to his friend in London. He was to pay the debts and to give the surplus to his widow. Bishop was buried in 1718 in Ludlow.

Cockram, Katherine, Widow.
(TNA), Will, PROB 11/609/82, pp. 1-3, Katherine Cockram, 1726. Will made 1722. She was

[874] Rocke also owned 'tools of all sorts, which he used for his own diversion'.
[875] Jones, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', 176.
[876] Wigmore demanded at her funeral 'no men but what belongs to the church' and for 'Mrs Hunton not to let any arguments whatsoever prevail with her to consent I should be opened after dead neither let me be exposed to the view of any, but what visit me whilst alive but be nailed up as soon as put in coffin, the place I long to take possession of'. (TNA), Will, PROB 11/538/ 185, pp. 1-8, Aletheia Wigmore, 1714.

part of the Salway family; these were one of several local land owning families.[877] She gave £30 a year to her grandson.[878]

Collier, John, Mason. Inventory proved 43.12.1722, valued at £7.17.00. He had a lease of land in Ludlow worth £7. His son with the same name was a bricklayer.

Dawes, Alice, An Esquire's widow. Inventory and will proved 4.4.1727, will made 1722, valued at £17.10.00. Her will was descriptive, but her inventory only recorded her clothes, bed, money and other goods (valued at £2). Dawes was buried in Diddlebury, where her father was buried in 1723. She had lost much of her former status as the wife of an esquire as she lived in lodgings. Vestiges of her old life survived in collection of portraits of deceased family members.

Heathway, Richard, Tailor. Inventory exhibited 4.12.1722, valued at £18.10.00. He owned a lease valued at £12. Heathway lived in the Old Street Ward with his wife in the 1717 Easter Book. He paid £0.1.06 tax. He was buried in Ludlow.

Lane, John, Gentleman. Inventory and will proved 22.1.1722, valued at £410.13.07. He lived in Broad Street. His son lived in London and was a mariner; he was cut off. Lane had two young daughters and a pregnant wife. One daughter received £80 when twenty-one and the house in Broad Street. He owned decorative household goods, silver objects, jewelled buttons, gold rings and a silver watch.

Lloyd, Sir Charles, Baronet.
(TNA), Will, PROB 11/598/28, pp. 1-5, Sir Charles Lloyd, 1724. He owned three estates in Montgomeryshire and two houses in Cardiganshire. His son was to study law or going into the church. Lloyd lived in the Broad Street Ward in the 1718 Easter Book with his wife, two daughters, and five servants, being two male and three female. He paid £7 tax.

Lumbard, John, Feltmaker. Will proved 8.5.1722. He was recorded as a hatter in the 1717 Easter Book. Lumbard lived in the Corve Street Ward with his wife, an apprentice and a maidservant; he paid £0.04.04 Church Tax. Lumbard was buried in 1721 in Ludlow.

Lutley, Thomas, Gentleman. Will proved 10.4.1722. He owned a property in Broad Street and a ninety-nine year farm lease at Aston. Lutley was buried in 1721 in Ludlow.

Philipps, Joseph, Gentleman. Will proved 1.8.1722. He had two married sons, a daughter and four godchildren. Philipps left his lands and tenements to his son-in-law. He was buried in Ludlow.

Winter, William, Tailor. Inventory exhibited 18.2.1722, valued at £18.19.06. Winter had a lease valued at £15.00.04. He lived in the Castle Ward with his wife and a journeyman tailor in the 1717 Easter Book; they paid £0.00.10 tax. Winter had two sojourners; he paid £0.00.11 tax. He was buried in Ludlow.

Chipp, Edward, Labourer. Inventory made 10.8.1723, valued at £6.01.04. In the 1720 Easter Book, Chipp lived in the Broad Street Ward with his wife were he had lived since at least

[877] Lloyd, *The Concise History of Ludlow*, p. 107.
[878] This was for 'his maintenance in case his creditors falling upon him and depriving of him of the rents and profits of his estates be destitute of a sufficient maintenance'.

1717; he paid £0.00.10 tax.

Cole, Mr. Philip. Inventory and will, will made 1723, proved 22.9.1725, valued at £39.05.00. He owned a barn and land in 'Mary Vale' Lane. Cole lived with his sister and a daughter in the 1724 Easter Book. He was buried in Ludlow.

Millward, John, Glover. Inventory and will proved 25.2.1723, valued at £145.01.06. He gave clothes to his nephews and a 'christell seale set in gold' with his cane. Millward lived in the Corve Street Ward and paid £0.02.00 tax for himself and a maidservant in 1717; he had no children. Millward was buried in Ludlow.

Morgan, John, Hookmaker. Inventory exhibited 10.3.1723, valued at £17.15.06. He lived in the Castle Ward with his wife, sister and a daughter since 1718.

Pearce, John, Gentleman. Inventory and will proved 1.10.1723, valued at £18.10.00. He left his wife his goods and was owed £12 in debts. Pearce was buried in Ludlow.

1732/3

Bullock, Anne, Spinster. Inventory and will proved 23.1.1732, valued at £4. She lived in the Castle Ward area since 1721 with a kinswoman, Bullock paid £0.01.00 Church Tax. She was buried in Ludlow.

Child, John, Gentleman. Inventory and will proved 2.5.1732, valued at £3. His inventory consisted of his wearing apparel. Child gave his goods to his executor; his nephew. The 1724 Easter book recorded him with his nephew and a maidservant.

Karver, Maria, Spinster. Will proved 17.10.1732. Karver owned a meadow at Brimfield, and she gave the charity school in Ludlow, £2. She was related to the wealthy Sprott family and was in her late sixties. (Her brother, Benjamin died aged seventy-two). Her family was from Upton in Little Hereford. Benjamin was churchwarden in 1693-4.[879] He was also an esquire, a lawyer, a Justice of the Peace and town bailiff, and he died in 1737. Karver was on Ludlow Corporation for forty-five years and became senior Alderman. He leased Castle Lodge.[880] Karver demolished the shambles and re-used the material to replace '*The Sign of the Greyhound'* with three houses, next to his home. These were advertised in the *Aris's Gazette* and rented by the gentry. However, Karver died before they were completed.[881]

King, Edmond, Dyer. Inventory and will proved 17.10.1732, valued at £18.12.10. King owned gold rings and a silver and tortoiseshell watch, which he distributed to family and friends. He lived in the Broad Street Ward since 1717 with his wife, paying £0.07.06 tax.

[879] Jones, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', 177.
[880] Castle Lodge, Castle Square, Ludlow. Ludlow Library & Museum Resource Centre <http://www.discovershropshire.org.uk/html/search/verb/GetRecord/theme:20080716115926> Accessed [13 July 2012]
[881] 54-6 Mill Street, Ludlow. Ludlow Library & Museum Resource Centre. <http://www.discovershropshire.org.uk/html/search/verb/GetRecord/theme:200807161> Accessed [15 September 2012]

King was buried in 1731 in Ludlow. His brother, Nathaniel was churchwarden 1693-4.[882]

Jennings, Thomas, Wheelwright/Carpenter. Inventory and will proved 12.9.1732, valued at £10.09.06. He lived in the Old Street Ward with his wife and son, paying £0.01.09 Church Tax, where he had lived since 1718. He purchased a house from Thomas Child, a mason. Jennings was buried in Ludlow.

Payne, Nicholas, Tallow Chandler. Will proved 15.3.1732. His property 'adjoined Broad Gate' and he had a barn below Old Street Gate. Payne lived in the Broad Street Ward, with two daughters and a maidservant in the 1724 Easter Book, Payne paid £0.03.06 Church Tax. His house had fourteen lights in the 1724 Window Tax and may have been no. 6.[883] Payne was a member of Ludlow Corporation. He was buried in Ludlow; his father of the same name and trade died in 1683.

Powell, Elizabeth. Inventory proved 27.2.1732, valued at £9.16.00. Mr Pyle the deputy secretary of the diocese of Hereford owed her £6.15.06.

Skett, Samuel, Maltster. Will proved 11.7.1732. Skett was a bachelor. He had leasehold lands, which he gave to his mother and then they were to go to his brother. Skett gave his sisters £10 each and his niece £5 and a silver cup at the decease of his mother. His mother was made executrix. He was buried in Ludlow.

Sprott, Isabella, Spinster. Will proved 3.2.1732. She was a member of the wealthy Sprott family. Her father was Henry Sprott of Marsh, near Much Wenlock, Shropshire; his will was proved in 1673.[884] Her mother was Anne Sprott, (Will proved 1721), and her aunty was Dorothy Sprott, spinster. Her sister, Anne Price, widow, (will proved 1748), had been married to Dr John Price, rector of Westbury church. He died in 1722 and their home burnt down shortly afterwards.[885] Isabella Sprott's sister-in-law was Joyce Sprott, (will proved 1732). Sprott distributed her collection of silver hot drink utensils to family members. She lived in the Broad Street ward in 1724 with her sister, a manservant and two maidservants; she paid £0.15.00 Church Tax. She was recorded as Madam Sprott in the 1724 Window Tax, with twenty-nine lights; this may have been no. 10.[886] She moved into the home of her sister-in-law with her servants witnessing her will. She buried in 1731 in Ludlow.

Sprott, Joyce, Widow. Will proved 6.6.1732. She was given a silver teakettle and lamp by her sister-in-law. In the 1724 Window Tax, Sprott lived in the Castle Ward area, in a property with thirty-three lights. In the 1720 Easter Book Sprott lived with two daughters and two maids; she paid £0.10.00 tax. By 1723, another daughter was included in the assessment.

Wilmott, William, Yeoman. Inventory and will proved 18.10.1732, valued at £10.14.00. He owned two houses in Broad Street. He cut off his son. Wilmot was owed a £5 bond and had £5.07.00 of sheep wool in the possession of Nicholas Payne, Junior. Wilmott died in Shrewsbury.

Woolley, John, Gentleman/Attorney. Will made 1732, proved 21.7.1741. He had property in

[882] Jones, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', 177.
[883] *Members of Ludlow Borough Corporation*.
[884] (TNA), Will, PROB 11/342/692, pp. 1-3, Henry Sprott of Marsh, 1673.
[885] (TNA), Will, PROB 11/588/150, pp. 1-7, John Price, 1722.
[886] Information supplied by *Ludlow Historical Research Group*

Diddlebury, a parsonage and other messuages and corn at Diddlebury and Long Stanton'. Woolley was a member of Ludlow Corporation. He was buried in 1740 in Ludlow.

Davies, Mr. Jacob, Tinplate worker/Gentleman. Inventory and will proved 3.10.1733, valued at £1631.09.00. Davies was churchwarden, 1697-8. His trade goods were valued at £83.16.00. The bulk of Davies' wealth was in debts, bonds and mortgages, (£1183.04.00). He wished for his son to go to university or become an apprentice. Davies lived in the Old Street Ward from at least 1717 with his wife and a maidservant, he paid £0.05.00 tax. His house was in Old Street next to *The Bear Inn*.[887] He owned property in Holdgate Fee, Butcher's Row and Lower Galdeford. Davies was buried in Ludlow.

Farmer, Mrs Ann, Baker/Widow. Inventory made 1733 and valued at £88.15.03, will proved in 2.4.1734. She continued her husband trade. They lived above their shop with the bake house behind in the Old Street Ward from 1718 with a daughter and a maidservant paying £0.02.02 Church Tax. Ann Farmer was buried in 1733 in Ludlow. She bequeathed clothing to family members and to her female servant. She also kept a male servant.

Pearce, John, Tiler. Inventory and will proved 16.6.1733, valued at £17.12.06. Pearce owned two tenements; with a £8 lease on his dwelling house. He was recorded in the Old Street Ward in 1723, as a 'journeyman tyler'. Pearce lived with his wife and paid £0.01.00 Church Tax. He was buried in Ludlow.

Richards, William, Glover. Inventory exhibited 10.4.1733, valued at £33.02.00. Richards was churchwarden, 1694-5.[888] Richards was buried in 1732 in Ludlow.

Sayce, Jeremiah, Innholder/Blacksmith. Inventory and will proved 20.11.1733, valued at £177.07.04. He owned *The Bull and Castle.* This property was at 20-21, The Bull Ring.[889] Sayce had twelve rooms in his inn. He had lived in the Old Street Ward since 1718 with his wife; he paid £0.02.00 tax. Sayce was buried in 1732 in Ludlow. His widow successfully operated his blacksmith business.

Whitefoot, George, Periwig Maker. Inventory made 1733, exhibited 18.6.1734, valued at £83.17.00. Whitefoot lived in the Old Street Ward from 1717 with his wife and a maidservant. He paid £0.04.06 Church Tax. He was buried in 1733 in Ludlow.

Woodall, Jane, W*idow*. Inventory exhibited 15.1.1733, valued at £8.07.00. In 1720, Woodall lived with two sons; their occupations were a journeyman carpenter and a mason. She paid £0.01.00 Church Tax. She lived with her tenants in Dinham in the 1724 Window Tax; her property had 10 lights. She was buried in Ludlow.

1742/3

Baughe, Edward, Attorney /Gentleman.
(TNA), Will, PROB 11/720/408, pp. 1-4, Edward Baughe, 1742. Baughe was to accept the real estate of his father-in-law at the value of £4,000.[890] His younger children were placed out

[887] Hobbs, *The Pubs of Ludlow*, pp. 119-120
[888] Jones, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', 177.
[889] Hobbs, *The Pubs of Ludlow*, p. 93-4.
[890] He was Richard Knight of Bringwood Forge. *The Arrogant Connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight, 1751-1824,* ed. by Michael Clarke and Nicholas Penny (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), p. 1.

as clerks or apprentices. He was a member of Ludlow Corporation. Baughe lived in the Castle Ward area in 1723 with his wife and two maidservants. He was buried in Ludlow.

Bright, Richard, Yeoman/Innholder. Will proved 12.10.1742. He lived in the Old Street Ward with his wife and daughter and paid £0.02.00 Church Tax. He was buried in Ludlow.

Davies, John, Yeoman/Innholder. Inventory and will proved 18.1.1742, valued at £4.08.00. Davies had a messuage in Lower Galdeford and *The Queen's Head* in Old Street. In the 1741 Easter Book he was recorded as a labourer in the Old Street Ward. Davies was buried in Ludlow.

Heath, Thomas, Innholder/Glover. Inventory and will proved 7.9.1742, valued at £16.10.00. Heath lived in the Corve Street Ward in 1720. He was recorded with his wife, daughter and three lodgers; he paid £0.01.08 Church Tax. Heath was buried in Ludlow.

Ible, William, Innholder. Inventory exhibited 18.1.1742, valued at £34.01.00. He was recorded as a tanner in the 1720 Easter Book in the Corve Street Ward. Ible lived with a maidservant and a journeyman; he paid £0.02.02 Church Tax. By 1724, he was married. Ible was buried in Ludlow.

Johnson, George, Chairmaker. Inventory proved 22.2.1742, valued at £18.10.04, this listed his tools and materials. He died intestate and was buried in Ludlow.
Powell, Mr. Richard. Will proved 22.2.1742. He had three houses. Powell was recorded in the Corve Street Ward in 1722 with his wife and paid £0.02.00 Church Tax. He was buried in Ludlow.

Powys, Samuel, M*altster*. Inventory and will proved 2.1.1744, will made 1742, valued at £355.10.00. He owned property in Corve Street.[891] The 1724 Easter Book recorded Powys as an innholder living with his wife and a maidservant in the Old Street Ward, Powys paid £0.02.00 tax. He was buried in Ludlow.

Gaine, John, Maltster. Will proved 1745, made 1743. He gave money to his relatives and his wife received his estate; she was made executrix. Gaine was buried in Ludlow.

Hattam, Thomas, Mason. Will only made 1743, proved 10.12.1745. He left provision for one of his sisters.[892] He cut off his other six siblings. Hattam was cared for by his nieces during his long illness. He owned his house and had other leases. In 1722, Hattam lived in the Corve Street Ward with his wife paying £0.03.00 Church Tax. He was buried in Ludlow.

Jones, Mr. William, Mercer.
London, The National Archives, Will, PROB 11/727/465, pp. 1-5, William Jones, 1743. He owned real estate in Radnorshire. Jones lived in the Corve Street Ward in 1722 with his wife, two maidservants and a journeyman. He paid £0.06.00 Church Tax. He was buried in Ludlow.

Keysale, Edward, Innholder. Inventory and will proved 14.7.1743, valued at £18.05.06. He

[891] This was a messuage, three houses, a smith's shop, a malt house and some premises adjoining *The Unicorn* Inn. His home may have been no's 70/71, Lower Corve Street.
[892] This was to 'to help relieve the necessities, she groans under from a bad husband'.

was the landlord of *The Seven Stars* at no. 38 Broad Street. He owned freehold estate in the parish of Orleton. Keysale was buried in 1742 in Ludlow. He gave his inn to his wife, which she ran for four years until her death in 1747; she increased the value of her goods to £28.17.03½[893]

Lea, Edward, Gentleman. Will made 1743, proved 5.5.1747. Lea was churchwarden 1694-5.[894] He owned real estate in Ludlow and Stanton Lacy. Lea was buried in Ludlow.

Pearce, Mary, Widow. Inventory and will proved 25.10.1743, valued at £46.15.07. Pearce lived alone in the Castle Ward in 1724 and paid £0.01.00 Church Tax. She was buried at Ludlow.

Wigley, Margery, Spinster. Will made 1743, proved 31.7.1744. She gave her three sisters £50 each; they were made executrixes

Wynne, Rowland, Tobacconist.
(TNA), Will, PROB 11/730/205, pp. 1-3. Rowland Wynne, 1743. He was churchwarden, 1719-20 and a member of the Ludlow Corporation from 1737.[895] In 1718, he lived in the Castle Ward with a maidservant and manservant. He was buried in Ludlow.

1752/3

Child, Marshall, Gentleman. Will proved 11.2.1752. Child was married twice. He owned a tenement in Corve Street, and messuages in Caynham, Shropshire and in Herefordshire.

Cole, Brian, Rector. Will proved 2.10.1752. Cole attended Clare College, Cambridge and St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford and attained the degrees of B.A. and M.A. He was vicar of Stottesdon in 1706 and vicar of Bishop's Castle in 1714.[896] Cole was named after his father and had a son. He owned property in Onibury, Shropshire. Cole was buried in Ludlow aged seventy-three.[897]

Coleman, Elizabeth, Widow. Inventory and will proved 1752, valued at £14.19.06. Coleman owned a meadow in Orleton. She was the widow of Richard Coleman, a tanner. She had at least seven children between 1715 and 1728.

Griffith, Benjamin, Carrier. Will proved 11.2.1752. He lived with his wife, Elizabeth and their two daughters and two sons. His eldest son was given £0.01.00; his other son was left horses, tack and hay. Griffith was buried in 1751 in Ludlow.

Goodwin, Ann, Spinster. Will proved 3.10.1752. Goodwin lived in the Corve Street Ward in the 1722 Easter Book; she paid £0.01.00 tax. She was buried in 1751 in Ludlow.

Harding, Roger, Gardener. Will proved 2.6.1752. He owned Cadman's Close in Galdeford, but lived in Corve Street. His son had the rent to keep him as an apprentice until he was

[893] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Sarah Keysale, 1747.
[894] Jones, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', 177.
[895] Jones, 'Churchwardens' Accounts', 187; *Members of Ludlow Borough Corporation*.
[896] *Alumni Oxonienses*. pp. 201-27. <http://britishhistory.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=117049> Accessed [28 September 2012]
[897] Fletcher, *Shropshire Parish Registers*, p. 208.

fourteen. Harding was buried in Ludlow.

Lane, John, Sawyer. Will proved 11.2.1752. There was a John Lane recorded in the 1717 Easter Book with his wife, they paid £0.00.06 tax and they lived in the Old Street Ward. His wife, Margaret was left his goods. Lane was buried in Ludlow.

Parry, Mary, Spinster. Inventory proved 11.3.1752, valued at £3.05.00. Her inventory consisted of her clothes and her wages, implying she was a servant. Parry was buried 1751 in Ludlow.

Bromley, Richard, Gentleman. Will proved 24.9.1753. Bromley had an estate at Asterton in Shropshire and leases in Bishop's Castle, Dinham and Mill Street.

Browne, Richard, Gentleman/Attorney. Will proved 12.11.1753. Browne was a member of Ludlow Corporation; he was elected town attorney in the place of Edward Smallman who died in 1718. Browne lived in the Castle Ward with his wife and a maidservant in 1719; he paid £0.23.00 Church Tax. Browne was buried in Ludlow.

Fewtrell, Edward, Yeoman. Inventory and will proved 13.3.175, valued at £11.03.00. He owned two messuages in Corve Street. Fewtrell in the 1720 Easter Book lived with his wife and paid £0.10.00 tax. Fewtrell was buried in Ludlow.

Goudge, Sarah, Widow/Shopkeeper. Inventory and will proved 28.4.1753, valued at £32.10.00. Goudge had two sons and two daughters; she gave her son, her shop goods. A daughter received her household goods; the others were given £5 each.

Tarbuck, Pryce, Gentleman. Will proved 23.1.1753. He owned property and land in Llanfair Waterdine in Shropshire and in Beguildy, Radnorshire. Tarbuck was a member of Ludlow Corporation.[898] He was buried in 1752 in Ludlow.

Hereford

All the Hereford probate documents have the same reference number from Hereford Record Office of AA20. They are in alphabetical order.

1662/3

Lewis, Alice, Spinster. Inventory and will proved 14.6.1662, valued at £37.18.18½ . She had a brother and a married sister. Lewis gave family members money and goods and gave charity to the poor.

Price, Philip, Glover. Inventory and will proved 9.6. 1662, valued at £228.02.00. Price lived at Aylestone Hill; he kept a smallholding and owned land and leases.[899] He had a wife, a son and a daughter.

Wilcox, Richard. Will proved 1662. He lived in the parish of St. Martin. Wilcox and his wife

[898] *Members of Ludlow Borough Corporation*.
[899] Price had two land leases and he owned three acres of land outside Eign gate, three tenements without Bister's gate, and his home. Price reckoned he leased twenty-four acres of land.

were nursed for three weeks by their daughter and son-in-law. Wilcox left them his goods to pay his debts.

Edwards, Katherine, Widow. Inventory and will proved 19.5.1663, valued at £8.18.06. She gave money to family members and friends; Edwards did not have children.

James, Lawrence, Innholder. Inventory and will proved 12.1.1663, inventory valued at £95.15.07. He built the '*The New Building'* and '*The Old Falcon'*. His grandchildren were under twenty-one, and his daughter was deceased. James had two married sons and a son-in-law.

Lloyd, John, Clothworker. Inventory and will proved 12.2.1663, valued at £34.15.00. Lloyd and his wife died around the same time of an illness. They owned a shop and had the lease of a barn near Widemarsh.

Williams, Mary, Widow/Innholder. Inventory and will proved 23.12.1663, valued at £212.10.11. She lived in the parish of St. Peter's. Williams' wine was assessed at £67.13.00. She was owed £145.02.05½ in good debts and £13.13.05½ in bad debts. Her inn was in the High Street area. Williams bequeathed £1 to the poor. She did not have children and provided money to maintain her mother-in-law. Williams had two maidservants.

Woolfe, Margaret, Widow of John Wolfe. Inventory and will proved 26.1.1663. Inventory valued at £12.06.08. She was the widow of a baker; the inventory of her deceased husband was made in 1661.[900] She gave money to family members and friends.

1672/3

Bowen, Edward, Farmer. Inventory and will proved 31.1.1672, valued at £38.06.00. Bowen lived in Lower Bullingham in the parish of St. Martin's. He owned a house in Radnorshire.

Davies, John, Mercer. Inventory exhibited 20.4.1672 and valued at £105.14.08. Davies lived in the parish of St. Owen's.

Davies, Thomas, Innholder. Inventory proved 23.9.1672, valued £42.02.02. He lived in the parish of St. John Baptist in a large inn.

Donne, William, Barber. Inventory and will proved 23.1.1672, valued at £27.15.06. Domus lived outside Eign Gate and had property at Howton Lugg. He had two married daughters and a son.

Fisher, William Carpenter. Inventory proved 20.4.1672, valued at £8.06.06. He lived in the parish of St. John Baptist. His wife operated a linen and lace shop.

Griffith, Richard, Tailor. Inventory proved 11.17.1672 valued at £84.13.00. Griffith owned his home and a mill house. He kept pigs and a horse.

Hill, John, Ironmonger/Alderman. Inventory proved 12.11.1672, valued at £3.11.08.[901] Hill

[900]John and Margaret West, *A History of Herefordshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1985), p. 85.
[901] His inventory consisted of his clothes, books, shop books and debts.

owned a property with one hearth in St. Owen's Ward; he had two houses, one with five hearths, and the other with two in Wyebridge Ward. He was mayor in 1659.[902] He worked in Hereford and Ross and produced trade tokens. Hill was a benefactor of the cathedral library.[903]

Mallor, Thomas, Butcher. Inventory proved 1.7.1672 valued at £5.00.02. His funeral expenses were £3 and he owed £2. Mallor lived in the parish of St. Peters.

Philpotts, Thomas, Innholder/Farmer. Inventory and will made 1672, proved 30.5.1674, valued at £248. He was the landlord of *The Talbot*.[904] The inn had eight rooms.[905] He may have run the gaol and house of correction as he had goods stored there. The Bridewell, similarly was filled with his goods.[906]

Powell, John, Weaver. Inventory proved 24.11.1672, valued at £3.14.06. He owned basic goods and had four rooms in his house.

Prise, Thomas, Innholder. Inventory and will proved 14.6.1672, valued at £104.07.06. Prise was the landlord of *The Black Swan* in Widemarsh Street, where he had lived since 1663.[907] Prise had eighteen rooms. Prise kept pigs and owned a barn and a stable. He was in the process of remarrying but he wrote 'my now intended wife', but never filled in her name. He had a son and daughter.

Skinner, Mrs, Mary. Inventory proved 29.6.1672, valued at £320. Skinner was left £55 by her mother and was owed £220. Her clothes were assessed at £45.

Tucker, Nicholas, Tailor. Inventory proved 9.11.1672 valued at £164.07.08. Tucker lived in the parish of St. Peter and was of Kingsland. He also worked as a maltster. Tucker was owed £72 by bond.

Corbett, Peter, Farmer. Inventory and will proved 3.2.1673, valued at £28.03.06. Apart from his house he owned a malt mill. Corbett married Catherine Merser in 1636/7 in the parish of St. Peters.[908]

Freeman, William, Servant to the Pastor. Inventory and will made 1673, proved 13.6.1674, valued at £43.13.00. He was the butler at the College of Vicar's Choral, where he lived with his wife, Mary. He had land in Shropshire.

Hill, Sible, Spinster/Shopkeeper. Inventory and will proved 29.9.1673, valued at £9.12.00. Hill owned land in the parish of St. Nicholas. She owned £0.31.00 of shop goods. Two of her

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[902] John Price, *An Historical Account of the City of Hereford* (Hereford: Walker, 1796), p. 259.
[903] Seventeenth-Century Tradesmen's Tokens, *British farthings.* <http://www.britishfarthings.com/Tokens/17th-Century/Herefordshire/Hereford.html> Accessed [5November 2012]
[904] There were two Talbot inns; these were in St. Martin's Street and in the St. Owen's area. Ron Shoesmith, *The Pubs of Hereford City* (Logaston: Logaston Press, 1998), p. 289.
[905] Philpotts also had a house in Brainton, two barns at Ayleston and Bystrone, a 'Tale' house, a shop, and a mill house.
[906] The Bridewell was the last remaining building of the castle; it was sold for £500 in 1800 and remains a private house. Jim Tonkin and Muriel Tonkin, *The Book of Hereford* (Chesham: Barracuda, 1975), p. 21.
[907] The property had been built in the early seventeenth century, but was demolished in 1978. Shoesmith, *The Pubs of Hereford City*, p. 132.
[908] Jean Dobson, *Herefordshire 1700-1820* <http://herefordshire1757-1820.typepad.co.uk> [12 September 2012]

brothers had been mayor.[909]

Hoskins, Oswald, Gentleman. Inventory and will proved 8.1.1673, valued at £148.10.00. He lived in the parish of St. Owen's in a property with four hearths in the 1665 Hearth Tax, and he owned Bulham Farm in the parish of St. John Baptist. Hopkins' father was Dr John Hoskins, rector of Ledbury church from 1612.[910] Oswald Hopkins' mother was Frances Phillips of Ledbury; she was born around 1600 in Sutton St. Clere, Somerset and died in 1659. She left her son £25 and gave his wife £2.10.00.[911] Hoskins' eldest brother was Charles and he also had a younger brother and two sisters. Charles Hoskins was born around 1620; he gave his brother £1 to buy a ring.[912] Oswald Hopkins was over fifty and was educated. He gave money to the poor, rewarded his servant, and bequeathed money, goods, mourning rings and his property to family members. His wife and cousin were to run the farm, cheaply.

Pearce, William Butcher. Inventory and will proved 7.2.1673. Inventory valued at £128.02.00. Pearce owned £4 of silver and had £10 of money. He had one hundred bushels of malt valued at £15 and was owed £20 in separate debts. Pearce made his wife, sole executrix. His three children were under twenty-one and were to receive £10 each. He kept sheep and pigs.

Price, Thomas, Clothworker. Inventory proved 3.2.1673, valued at £39.12.03. He was also a yeoman.[913] Price was owed £4.02.03 in separate debts.

1682/3

Aston, Edmund, Corviser. Inventory proved 25.7.1682, valued at £97.00.00. He was mayor in 1640.[914] His clothes were valued at £5 and he had ten hogsheads of cider assessed at £10. Aston had £20 in book debts and £20 of money.

Crowe, Richard, Yeoman. Inventory proved 8.5.1682, valued £34.11.02. He owned twenty-one acres of land. Crowe had six horses, carts, ploughs and other implements of husbandry. His son and daughter were to receive £40 each when they were twenty-one. Crowe intended to remarry in 1671.

Davies, Margery. Inventory proved 2.12.1682, valued at £11.07.00. She lived in the parish of St. Peter's. Davies was owed £9.

Dowle, Jane, Spinster/Moneylender. Inventory and will proved 7.7.1682, valued at £361.11.00. She lived in the parish of St. Owen's. Dowle had £361.11.00 of movables.

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[909] Her brother, John was mayor in 1659. Another brother, Thomas Seabourne was mayor between 1648-9. He was a Justice of the Peace and owned two properties in Widemarsh Ward. Price, *Account of the City of Hereford*, p. 259.

[910] He was born at Llanwarne at the family estate and died in 1631. Hopkins studied at New College, Oxford and became chaplain to the bishop of Hereford and to James I .Janet Cooper, 'Herefordshire Past', *The Newsletter of the Trust for the Victoria County History of Herefordshire*, 2,7 (2009), 1-16, (6-7). <http://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac-uk/sites/default/files/page-attachments/no7_a5.pdf > Accessed [5 November 2012]

[911] (TNA), Will, PROB 11/298/442, pp. 1-3, Frances Phillips, 1660.

[912] (HRO), Will, pp. 1-3, Charles Hoskins, 1670.

[913] Price owned three hundred cheeses valued at £3, seven bushels of wheat valued at £1.08.00, five bushels of white and grey peas, oatmeal, hay and clover, some pigs and ten stone of candles.

[914] Price, *Account of the City of Hereford*, p. 259.

Dowle owned £50 in silver and gold, her wealth was given to charity and a friend.

Griffiths, David, Tailor. Inventory and will proved 14.8.1682, valued at £47.05.02. His leased house was situated outside Widemarsh Gate.

Harris, Francis, Carrier. Inventory proved 9.11.1682, valued at £115.09.00. He lived in the parish of St. Martins. Harris' goods totalled £36.06.00; he was owed £79.03.00 in bonds. He kept five horses and large quantities of hay.

Hergest, Roger, Weaver. Inventory and will proved 8.2.1682, valued at £33.09.02. His goods were left to his wife. His brother was a glazier and his brother-in-law was to manage his estate. Hergest was owed £21.10.00.

Higgins, Elizabeth, Spinster. Inventory and will proved 26.12.1682, valued at £9.18.00.[915] Her clothes were of high quality; some had silver lace. She had three brothers and two sisters.

Pugh, Sible, Spinster/Servant. Inventory and will proved 31.6.1682, valued at £79.08.08. She was the servant of Mrs Mary Trist.[916] She lived in the parish of St. Nicholas. Pugh was owed £11 in bills and bonds. She gave her clothes to her fellow servant, Elianer Skipp.

Stockin, Jane. Inventory proved 15.12.1682, valued at £6. She was owed a bond of £6 by John Hill, corviser dated 1675.

Tomkins, Thomas, Husbandman. Inventory proved 16.9.1682, valued at £10.16.07. He owned basic household goods and equipment.

Wall, Henry, Gentleman/Innholder. Inventory proved 5.2.1682, valued at £117.11.02. His house had eight rooms and backed onto Cabbage Lane. Wall had stocks of cider, beer, and ale in hogsheads and four hundred and eighty bottles of cider valued at £32. Wall owned £11 of table silver. He lived in Bister's Ward in a property with seven hearths according to the 1665 Hearth Tax.

Knowles, Robert, Servitor at Coningsby's Hospital. Inventory proved 11.5.1683, valued at £26.11.08. Knowles had six harps, a lute, 'one old base viol and a Sacrbutt'. He was admitted to Coningsby's Hospital in 1669 and was referred by Humphrey Coningsby, MP as a servitor.[917] Knowles would not conform to the rules and was expelled in 1673, being replaced by Charles Bedford, a servant of the Coningsby family.[918]

Lovell, James. Inventory and will proved 22.1.1683, valued at £34.13.04. His inventory consisted of his clothes and the money due to him (£34) from a will. Lovell lived in the parish of St. Martin's and owned five acres of land outside St. Owen's Gate. He gave the land

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[915] Her inventory consisted of her clothes suggesting she lived in the house of a relative.

[916] Francis Havergal, and Robert Clarke, *Hereford Cathedral: Epitaphs; Sepulchral Monuments* (London: Marshall and Co, 1881), p. 57; This could have been the widow of John Trist of Fairtree, Ledbury.(TNA), Will, PROB 11/357, pp. 1-4, John Trist, 1661/2.

[917] (TNA), Warrant to the Corporal of Coningsby's Hospital, A63/VIII/119, 1669; This was a retirement home for ten old men who had been soldiers for at least three years and lived in Herefordshire, Shropshire or Worcester. They were provided with a uniform and about £13 a year with other privileges.Price, *Account of the City of Hereford*, pp. 148-9.

[918] (TNA), Warrant to the Corporal of Coningsby's Hospital, A63/VIII/122, 1673.

to Charles Watkins and his wife for 'their many kindnesses ….in sickness as in health for several years'.

Thomas, Leison, Ironmonger. Inventory and will proved 16.11.1683, valued at £61.12.08. He had his house with seven rooms and shop in The Long Alley.

Weare, Edward, Tanner. Inventory and will proved 17.4.1683, valued at £219.09.11. Weare lived in the parish of St. Nicholas. The hides were kept at his seven-roomed farmhouse, and in Leominster and Abergavenny; they totalled £118.18.05.

Wyer, Henry. Inventory and will proved 7.2.1683, valued at £10.02.00. Wyer lived in the parish of St. John Baptist and leased a house in Castle Street.

1692/3

Ballard, Richard, Husbandman. Inventory proved 24.11.1692, valued at £2.00.06. He lived in the parish of St. Peter's. Ballard had basic goods.

Bingham, John, Tiler. Inventory proved 2.4.1692, valued at £20. He had a year garden lease with thirty years to run. The lease was assessed at £15, and his clothes and goods were valued at £5.

Blayney, Mary, Widow. Inventory and will proved 2.12.1692, valued at £86.10.00. Blaynay owned three acres in Lugg Meadow and several houses. Her deceased husband had an estate in Kinsham, Herefordshire and he was born around 1612. Her maiden name was Phillips and she was born in Netley, Shropshire. They were married in Stapleton in 1638 and had two children.[919]

Collins, Edward, Gentleman/Yeoman. Inventory proved 1.2.1692, valued at £29.18.00. He had five rooms in his house and thirteen acres of land with pigs and cows.

Jones, John, the Elder. Inventory proved 1692, assessed at £11. He lived in the parish of St. John Baptist. He was elderly and lived in reduced circumstances.

Kinward, John, Clothier. Inventory proved 14.8.1692, valued at £220.12.00. He lived in the parish of All Saint's. He owned £5 of silver and was owed £12.17.00 in good debts.

Treharne, John, Clothworker. Inventory and will proved 14.4.1692, valued at £23.19.06. Treharne and his wife died at the same time.[920] There were six rooms in the property in the parish of St. Owen's. Traharne also had a house lease in Wyebridge Street valued at a £1. His property was left to his wife and she was his executrix.

Williams, John, Husbandman. Inventory and will proved 29.3.1692, valued at £46.04.08. Williams lived in Lower Bullingham in the parish of St. Martin's. Williams gave his wife, £10, her chair, three horses and the household goods. His eldest son was given £0.01.00. Williams gave his daughter £5 and six sheep. He gave his daughter-in-law some hens and two

[919]Thomas Blayney of Kinsham, Herefordshire. <http://histfam.familysearch.org/getpersonphp?personID=1190630&tree=Welsh> Accessed [12 November 2012]

[920]They were recorded as 'in the room where he now lyeth' and 'in the room where she now lyeth'.

sheep. Williams made another son, sole executor.

Beddoe, Loanam, Glover. Inventory proved 7.10.1693, valued at £4. He lived in the parish of St. Peter's. Beddoe was owed £3 from the Navy Office.

Bosworth, Benetiza, Spinster. Inventory proved 24.11.1693, valued at £58.05.08. There were eleven rooms in her property. She had a parlour, a closet, books and silver in her well-furnished property.

Gullapher, Humphrey, Tailor. Inventory proved 28.9.1693, valued at £91.02.18. He lived in the parish of St. John Baptist. Gullapher had eleven rooms in his house and he kept eleven pigs. The 1665 Hearth Tax recorded him living in the Bridge Ward in a property with three hearths.

Jones, Branston, Glover. Inventory and will proved 26.7.1693, valued at £206.04.01. His house was Widemarsh Gate. He gave his son £5, his kinsman £2.10.00 and his two daughters his house. Jones had a silver cup and spoon valued at £2. He had goat, kid, calf, pig, buck and doeskins; he also sold purses, points, laces and satchels.

Morton, Ann, Gentry Spinster. Inventory and will proved 30.6.1693, valued at £148.01.11. She had six rooms in her property in the parish of St. Owen's. Morton owned a looking glass, a picture, silver and books. Morton gave £3 to the poor of Hereford and had two maidservants. Her nephew was 'Mr. John Cornwall of Buckland, a gentleman'.

Pearce, Thomas. Inventory proved 4.5.1693, valued at £2. The inventory recorded his wearing apparel and household goods.

Thomas, Taban, Blacksmith. Inventory and will proved 6.3.1693, valued at £17.06.10. He lived in the parish of St. Nicholas. Thomas was owed £4 in debts, he gave his daughter £6 and his goods. His two sons were given his tools.

Wall, Frances, Spinster. Inventory and will proved 26.3.1693, valued at £225.16.00. She had a £10 lease for part of a house called 'Ye Night House'. She was the sister of Henry Wall.[921]

1702/3

Aston, Martin, Weaver. Inventory and will proved 17.3.1702, valued at £9.19.08. Aston lived in the parish of All Saint's. His three sons were cut off. His brother, Edmund Aston had been mayor in 1640.[922]

Broad, John, Clerk. Inventory proved 26.1.1702, valued at £18.04.10. He lived in the parish of St. Owen's with his wife, who died in 1722. His son was also a clerk. Broad worked at the college and stored goods in the woodhouse. Broad may have had two brothers.[923]

Fowler, Mrs Francis, Widow. Inventory and will proved 16.4.1702, valued at £16.17.05. She had three rooms in her house. Fowler made her niece, sole executrix, for being 'very

[921] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Henry Wall, 1692.
[922] (HRO), Inventory, AA20, pp. 1-2, Edmund Aston, 1682.
[923] They may have died around the same time as there was a vicar called Edward Broad and a bookseller, called Richard Broade; they were both buried in 1704. Havergal and Clarke, *Hereford Cathedral*, p. 22

serviceable to me for many years'. Her niece received her estate.

Harris, John, Mason. Inventory and will proved 23.11.1702, valued at £3.09.00. He lived in the parish of St. John Baptist. His wife was made sole executrix.

Jones, Paul, Innholder. Inventory proved 1702, valued at £18.19.04. Jones owned basic goods; he had £4 cider and was an alehouse keeper.

Phillips, Walter. Inventory proved 10.12.1702, valued at £153.05.00. He had £10 of ready money and was owed £114.00.00 by speciality.
Veale, Richard, Husbandman. Inventory and will proved 23.9.1702, valued at £11.19.04. He lived in the parish of St. Owen's. Veale had four rooms in the house, he had purchased with his father.

Rycroft, Samuel, Gentleman/Innholder. Inventory and will proved 4.9.1702, valued at £4.14.06. Rycroft operated an alehouse.

Burrance, Henry, Chandler. Inventory and will proved 23.3.1703, valued at £13.17.02. He lived in a house with five rooms in the parish of St. Owen's. He had three other properties.[924]

Caldicott, James, Baker. Inventory and will proved 7.10.1703, valued at £19.11.08. He lived in the parish of All Saint's; in a leased house in Eign ward and he had a meadow in Bullingham. He was admitted as a freeman in 1682. Caldicott was married to Alice Chabnor of Norton Canon, when he was about twenty-two in 1683/4; he died aged forty-one. Alice Caldicott was buried 1725/6. They had at least nine children.[925]

Parry, Elizabeth, Widow/Shopkeeper. Inventory and will proved 3.3.1703, valued at £90.06.10. She lived in the parish of St. Martin's at the end of Wyebridge. Parry was elderly with a son and a grandchild. Her lease was assessed at £10; and her trade goods were valued at a £1.

Powell, Mr, Thomas, Gentleman. Inventory and will proved 22.9.1703, valued at £19.18.06. Powell owned his house and had a lease from the Lord of Abergavenny.

Williams, Jane, Married innholder. Will proved 1703. Jane Williams was a married woman who made a will. She had a lease in Silvington valued at £30 and her own goods. She was also determined to choose the future of her granddaughter that lived with them.

1712/3

Barber, Anne, Widow/Shopkeeper. Inventory and will proved 12.11.1712, valued at £555.03.05. Barber was owed £238.11.00 in debts with specialities, and £67.02.05 without specialities.[926] Barber gave her house in St. Peter's to the church after the death of her spinster sister. The rent was to be distributed amongst six widows.

Blount, Edward, Turner/Shopkeeper. Inventory made 17.11.1712, valued at £17.10.03.

[924] Burrance sold cheese, candles and salt and had stocks of malt and wheat. His wooden and earthenware was valued at £4.10.00.
[925] Jean Dobson, *Herefordshire 1700-1820* <http://herefordshire1757-1820.typepad.co.uk> [12 September 2012]
[926] She ran a general store and sold brandy, hot liquors, tobacco, linen, cheese, candles and woollen cloth.

Blount had a shop, which sold earthen and woodenware. He lived next to a church.

Edwin, Anne, Spinster. Inventory and will proved 19.8.1712, valued at £17.07.06. She lived in the parish of All Saint's as a lodger in 2 rooms.

Flinch, Anne, Widow. Inventory proved 19.11.1712, valued at £12. She lived in the parish of All Saint's. Flinch was owed £10 in rent arrears.

Griffith, William, Labourer. Inventory and will proved 15.5.1712, valued at £16.15.00 consisted of debts and clothes. He lived in the parish of St. Nicholas.

King, Thomas, Officer of Excise. Inventory proved 26.6.1712, valued at £15. King was owed £2.02.00 wages from the office of excise. His implements and his sword were assessed at £0.05.00.

Lewis, John, Husbandman. Inventory proved 6.6.1712, valued at £9.14.04. Lewis owned old ploughs, corn and livestock.

Lingen, Blanch, Spinster. Will proved 20.12.1712. She was a daughter of Sir Henry Lingen. Colonel Lingen had been fined £6342 by Parliament.[927] Lingen had besieged Brampton Castle, the home of Sir Robert and Lady Brilliana Harley of Brampton Bryan in 1643. The siege lasted seven weeks. Henry Lingen was born in 1612 and at twenty-six became the Sheriff of Herefordshire. Lingen led a failed uprising in 1648 and was imprisoned. After the restoration he was elected as Member of Parliament for Hereford in 1661; but died in 1662 and was buried at Stoke Edith.[928] Blanch Lingen inherited some land from her father and she gave money for church restoration. Lingen gave £3 a year to the poor from two parishes. She had two sisters, one was married.

Locker, William Glover. Inventory and will proved 7.6.1712, valued at £155.05.03. He lived in the parish of St. Owen's. He was owed £150 by mortgage.

Parsons, Alice, Spinster. Inventory and will proved 1712, valued at £108.16.00. She lived in the parish of St. John Baptist. Parsons was owed £80 by bond. She gave family members money and goods.

Popkin, Thomas, Shoemaker. Inventory and will proved 20.7.1712, valued at £276.16.08. He was owed £145 in bonds and £7.11.06 in debts. Popkin had six rooms in his house.

Roberts, James. Inventory proved 10.6.1712, valued at £1. He lived in Lower Bullingham. Only his clothes were recorded.

Symonds, Robert, Apothecary/Gentleman. Will proved 22.8.1712. His brother, Philip was mayor in 1712 and 1727.[929] His son was a mercer, who died in 1761 aged fifty-one.[930]

[927] Price, *Account of the City of Hereford*, p. 250.
[928] West, *A History of Herefordshire*, pp. 76, 78.
[929] Price, *Account of the City of Hereford*, p. 260-1.
[930] Havergal and Clarke, *Hereford Cathedral*, p. 65.

Symonds gave his 'loving brother' his silver watch, stone ring and silver buckles.[931] Symonds asked his 'dear and loving mother' to be executrix.

Woodhouse, Susannah, Spinster. Will proved 19.8.1712. She gave money to the poor. Her brother, Cave Woodhouse, a mercer was given £10; he had been mayor in 1684.[932] He was on the Common Council between 1697 and 1736.[933]

Bullock, Thomas, Yeoman. Inventory and will proved 16.12.1713, valued at £441.03.06. He lived at Bullinghope in Lower Bullingham. Bullock operated a farm and owned one hundred and sixty eight acres. He owned a dairy, a bake house, and a cider mill and press.

Edward Bullock was the brother of Thomas; he was a baker and a freeman, and was buried in 1727. His wife died in 1721, aged sixty-one.[934] Bullock was senior churchwarden and became a trustee of the will of his brother. His son attended Oxford University and became Dean of Norwich Cathedral.[935] Their father was also named Thomas.[936]

Ellis, John, Butcher. Inventory and will proved 1.7.1713, valued at £1.03.02, which valued his clothes, saddle and money. Ellis lived in the parish of St. Peter's, but died away from Hereford. He owned two houses and a cottage called 'Jew's Chimney'.

Griffith, Williams, Innholder. Inventory and will proved 15.4.1713, valued at £19.06.00. He lived in the parish of All Saint's outside Widemarsh Gate. His property had eight rooms. Griffiths owned another tenement.

Paine, Edward, Glover. Inventory proved 2.2.1713, valued at £4.16.02. He lived in the parish of St. Peter's. He owned a shop and had four rooms in his property.

Pye, Blanch, An Esquire's Widow. Will proved 8.8.1713. Pye gave her estate to her daughter. Her husband was born in 1650 and buried in 1701, aged fifty-one. Her maiden name was Lingen; she outlived her husband by twelve years. Pye had two sons and a daughter.[937]

Watkins, Jerome, Miller. Inventory and will proved 29.6.1713, valued at £12.05.06. Watkins was of the Castle mills in the parish of St. Owen's. He owned property and seven acres of land.

1722/3

William Ames, Weaver. Inventory and will proved 18.3.1722, valued at £2.05.00. Ames became a freeman in 1689, paying £0.20.00. He had a brother, Daniel, who died in 1700/01.

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[931] He also gave a baker, his own gold ring engraved with 'true in heart the far a past', and he requested that a ring worth £0.10.00 should be purchased for his friend, a peruke maker; this was to be engraved 'Think of me when I am dead'.
[932] Price, *Account of the City of Hereford*, p. 260.
[933] J. F. Morris, 'The Political Organisation of Hereford, 1693-1736', *Transactions of the Woolhope Club*, 45, 3 (1987), 477-487, (485).
[934]Havergal and Clarke, *Hereford Cathedral*, p. 23.
[935] Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714, *Institute of Historical Research.* pp. 201-7 <www.rescript.org/article.aspx?p=1&a=3167> Accessed [3 January 2013]
[936] Dobson, *Herefordshire 1700-1820* <http://herefordshire1757-1820.typepad.co.uk> [12 September 2012]
[937] Edgar George Pye, *Pye Families of Herefordshire and Norfolk Counties, England* (1999). <http://www.smithpye.com/pye_data/pyeinfo.htm> Accessed [12 November 2012]

Ames was a widower with four married children with their own families.[938]

Broade, Mrs Margery, Widow. Inventory proved 12.10.1722, valued at £13.18.00. She was the widow of John Broad, a clerk; he died in 1702. Broade lived in the parish of St. Owen's.

Caldicott, Elizabeth, Spinster. Will proved 31.1.1722. She was one of at least nine children born to James Caldicott, a baker, who died in 1703.[939] Caldicott witnessed the will of her brother, but she only survived him by a few months. Caldicott would have been in her late twenties or early thirties.[940]

Caldicott, James, Corviser. Will proved 16.8.1722. Caldicott was baptised in 1691, in the parish of All Saint's and died aged thirty-one. His father was James Caldicott, a baker whose probate was granted in 1703. Caldicott was a freeman and a bachelor.

Driver, Simon, Tailor. Inventory and will proved 10.12.1722, valued at £7.15.06. He lived in the parish of All Saint's. Driver left his basic goods and £4.14.00 to his wife.

Fisher, Abraham, Gentleman. Inventory proved 18.6.1722, valued at £84.00.00. He had a bond from his deceased mother for £10.10.00, and a fourteen year lease of a farm in Kington.

Heath, Thomas, Gentleman. Will proved 11.4.1722. He lived in Grafton in the parish of St. Martin's. His daughter and Margaret the wife of Robert Brooker were both given £60.[941] One son was given farming equipment and goods; his wife was left a bed, corn and some grain. Another son had the threshing barns. The funeral cost of £6 was to be paid out of the sale of wood. His wife was given £10 a year for life and his son, Richard was to be paid £100. His other son, Thomas was made sole executor.

Lightholder, William, Innholder/Tanner. Will proved 18.8.1722. He was the landlord of *The Black Swan* in Widemarsh Street. Lightholder had lived at the inn since 1712.[942] He was a freeman. Lightholder had two sons with his wife, Elizabeth and a year old grandson. Their daughter married William Bullock, an innholder. William Lightholder, junior was a tanner who became a freeman. His son was apprenticed to a shoemaker.[943]

Maddox, Catherine, Widow. Will proved 4.5.1722. She gave her goods to her son-in-law. Maddox gave her sister £80.

Moody, John, Carpenter. Inventory proved 22.8.1722, valued at £19.00.06. He had six rooms in his home and building materials in his timber yard.

Morse, Samuel, Mercer. Inventory proved 9.7.1722, valued at £838.15.01½. He sold cloth, haberdashery and grocery wares. Morse lived above his shop in well-furnished rooms with

[938] Dobson, *Herefordshire 1700-1820* <http://herefordshire1757-1820.typepad.co.uk> [12 September 2012]
[939] Dobson, *Herefordshire 1700-1820* <http://herefordshire1757-1820.typepad.co.uk> [12 September 2012]
[940] (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, James Caldicott, 1722.
[941] This was 'for a separate maintenance to the sole and only use of her as if unmarried'.
[942] This was the same inn that Thomas Prise had occupied inside the castle walls in 1663. Shoesmith, *The Pubs of Hereford City*, p. 133.
[943] Dobson, *Herefordshire 1700-1820* <http://herefordshire1757-1820.typepad.co.uk> [12 September 2012]

pictures, looking glasses and shaped tables.

Packhouse, William, Brazier. Inventory proved 12.5.1722, valued at £158.12.08. He sold copper, brass and pewter kitchenware. He owned a clock valued at £1.

Rosses, Roger, Bargeman. Inventory and will proved 21.1.1722, valued at £16.01.00. He lived in the parish of St. Martin's. Rosses' barges were 'old' and 'shattered' and were valued at £07.10.00. He owned basic goods. His wife and daughter were 'dearly beloved', but his mother and sister were given £0.01.00. Rosses' daughter was under twenty-one.

Williams, Frances, Spinster. Will proved 11.5.1722. She gave her nephews and nieces £50 each when twenty-one. Williams gave her brother her goods, her other brother was made executor.

Yearat, Sybill, A Widow of a Cooper. Inventory proved 28.5.1722, valued at £9.11.08. Her kitchen equipment was 'very old'. Yearat retained the tools that had belonged to her husband; timber and hoops, valued at £0.07.06.

Avery, Sarah, Spinster. Will proved 1.5.1723. Avery gave her sister £5, her nephew, a piece of gold; her niece was given a gold hair ring, another niece was given the mourning ring that had belonged to her father. The children of her sister were given money, a silver cup, 'The Whole Duty of Man', and a bible and a common prayer book.[944] Her sister was made sole executrix.

Cooke, John, Shoemaker. Inventory proved 21.2.1723, valued at £28.14.06. He operated a shoe shop and his wife was a milliner. There was a John Cooke who was mayor in 1680.[945]

Cony, John, Husbandman. Inventory proved 5.10.1723, valued at £11.08.00. He lived in the parish of St. Martin's. Cony owned a cider mill, pigs and grew grain.

Crow Benjamin, Tanner. Inventory and will proved 11.1.1723, valued at £576.16.03. He had eight rooms in his house, a tan house and numerous tanned hides. Crow owned books valued at £0.05.00. He had £32 of ready money and book debts of £94.02.04.

East, Richard. Inventory and will proved 4.1.1723. Inventory valued at £4.10.00. He lived in the parish of St. Martin's. East lived at Lugg Bridge. He made his wife executrix and gave her his estate.

Eckley, Martha, Widow. Inventory proved 19.12.1723, valued at £122. She lived in the parish of St. John Baptist. Her inventory consisted of clothes and a lease of two fields. Elizabeth Eckley signed the inventory; this was her daughter.

Hodges, John, Innholder. Will proved 11.2.1723. He appointed his wife, Margery, sole executrix and gave her his estate asking her to care for their children.

Holmer, Elizabeth, Widow. Will proved 18.6.1723. She lived in the parish of St. John Baptist.

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[944] *The Whole Duty of Man* was written by Richard Allestree in 1660 and blended notions of gentlemanliness with Christian ideology. Philip Carter, 'Polite 'Persons': Character, Biography and the Gentleman', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), 337, (333-354).
[945] Price, *Account of the City of Hereford*, p. 260.

Holmer had silver spoons with the initials of their owner; they were given to her married children. Her silver items, rings, clothes and domestic objects were bequeathed to family members.

Hunt, Elizabeth, Wife of James Hunt, Bookseller and daughter of Jonah Taylor Esquire. Will proved 22.7.1723. Hunt gave the lands that had belonged to her father in Leintwardine and Hampton Bishop to her husband, and then to her nephew if they had no children. Hunt asked that £2 was given to the poor of All Saint's. Her maid was given £2 every year. Her nieces were given £350 and £100 and her nephew was given £80. Her sister was left £100 that was not to be interfered with by her husband.

Minton, Humphrey, Innholder. Inventory and will proved 29.8.1723, valued at £466.19.01. He operated *The Half Moon* inn. Minton was owed £58.10.00 in desperate debts. He had seventeen rooms including his shop. Minton had four properties, which he gave to his wife. They had two unmarried daughters.

Morgan, Richard, Innholder. Inventory and will proved 4.9.1723, valued at £89.11.00. He had £0.08.06 of money and was owed £60 by bond with £2 of desperate debts. Morgan had £6 of ale and cider and two tables and six chairs in the parlour.

Phillips, Anne, Widow. Will proved 9.3.1723. She lived in the parish of St. Peter's. She was elderly. Phillips made the daughter of her cousin, executrix.

Prosser, Elizabeth, Spinster. Inventory proved 13.3.1723, valued at £11.08.06. She lived in the parish of All Saint's. She had £0.10.00 of money and gold rings valued at £0.14.06.

Rawlinson, John, Tailor/Shopkeeper. Inventory and will proved 22.2.1723, valued at £91.07.07. He lived in the parish of St. Peter's. Rawlinson operated an earthenware shop. He had a £8 lease of a house in Bystreet left to him by Susannah Hodges, a widow.

Smith, Averill, Widow/Shopkeeper. Inventory and will proved 24.4.1723, valued at £68.10.03. She operated a haberdasher's shop.

Smith, John, Barber Surgeon. Inventory and will proved 12.3.1723, valued at £15. He lived in the parish of St. Nicholas. Smith died aged thirty-three, his daughter died in 1721. His widow lived until 1746.[946]

Taylor, Jonah, Esquire/Alderman. Taylor's inventory and will proved 22.6.1723, assessed at £1132.16.11. He was a member of the lower gentry. Taylor lived in Eign with his warehouse. He was involved in local government. Taylor owned and leased a substantial amount of property in and around Hereford.[947] Money was given to his servant, also twelve men of Price's Hospital were to receive £0.01.00 each. Taylor revoked the promise of property, land and money given to his grandson, if he entered into holy orders within a year. This would then be given to a different grandson.

[946] Havergal and Clarke, *Hereford Cathedral*, p. 64.

[947] He had five houses, at least eight tenements, two crofts and the lease of a corn mill; these were bequeathed to family members. Taylor also made charitable bequests. He gave 'five pieces of garden behind Weaver's Hospital in Bewell Street to the poor in Weaver's Hospital and £0.05.00 yearly was given to the hospital from his new house.

Wadeley, William, Apothecary. Inventory and will proved 7.11.1723, valued at £33.00.01. He was on the Common Council between 1698 and 1723, and mayor in 1705.[948] His father was mayor in 1670.[949] Wadeley had an apothecary's shop as part of his mansion in Broad Capuchin Lane. His father, Richard was granted the lease in 1669 with Wadeley taking over the lease in 1692. His brother, Francis was sole executor, he was a clerk with two sons; Thomas became a freeman in 1714 after serving his apprenticeship with his father. He was given £20 'for the good of his children'. By 1719, Thomas was the lease holder, surrendering it in 1728. He died in 1729 after being released from debtor's prison.[950]

White, Rebecca, Spinster. Inventory proved 30.5.1723, valued at £18.01.00½. She lived in the parish of St. Owen's. White was owed £2.05.09 'rent for faggots' and collected firewood to make a living. The inventory was drawn up by Joseph White.

Williams, Martha, Widow. Will proved 13.8.1723. She lived in the parish of St. Nicholas and was elderly. William gave £5 to her daughter for mourning. £10 was given to her grandson when he became an apprentice. Her estate was given to her son who was made sole executor.

Wynne, Elianor, Spinster. Inventory and will proved 5.12.1723. Inventory valued at £101.10.00. She lived in the parish of St. John Baptist. Wynne was owed £100 by bond. Wynne made her married sister sole executrix, she was given her goods and a bond of £50 to be paid by their brother, a London victualler.

1732/3

Baker, William, Shoemaker. Inventory proved 27.12.1732, valued at £4.05.00. He had £0.02.06 of tools. Baker owned a 'moydore in gold', valued at £1.07.00.[951]

Bevan, James, Collermaker. Will proved 20.2.1732. Bevan gave his wife their house. He did not have children and his nephews and nieces were young.
Custason, Mary, Spinster. Inventory and will proved 13.3.1732. Inventory valued at £16.06.10. She lived in the parish of St. Peter's. Custason was owed £12 in debts. She gave her brother and his children her goods and money.

Eysham, Tobias, Glover/Husbandman. Inventory proved 16.9.1732, valued at £17.10.00. His brother Richard died in 1742.[952]

Hope, William, Carpenter. Inventory proved 4.1.1732, valued at £10.13.09. He was owed £3.16.05 and had at least four rooms in his house. Hope apart from a looking glass had basic goods.

Jones, Mr. James, Tailor. Inventory and will proved 16.2.1732, valued at £1.08.09. His inventory listed his clothes. Jones left his goods to his son, who was made sole executor.

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[948] Morris, 'The Political Organization of Hereford', 485.
[949] Price, *Account of the City of Hereford*, pp. 259-60.
[950] Dobson, *Herefordshire 1700-1820* <http://herefordshire1757-1820.typepad.co.uk> [12 September 2012]
[951] A moidore was a Portuguese gold coin current in England and its colonies in the first half of the eighteenth century, then worth about twenty-seven shillings.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/120751?redirectedFrom=Moidore+#eid> [18 February 2014]
[952] (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-2, Richard Eysham, 1742.

Meredith, Joshua, Joiner. Inventory and will proved 13.2.1732, valued at £1.16.07. Meredith lived in the parish of St. Peter's. His wife was made executrix and left his estate.

Moulds, David. Inventory proved 25.3.1732, assessed at £6.12.06. He owned basic goods and tools.

Nicholas, William, Innholder. Inventory and will proved 5.3.1732, valued at £38.01.11. Nicholas lived in the parish of St. Peter's. He had a tenement and land in Bothwood, Radnorshire; this was given to his wife. His parlour had a clock and case, a map and prints. Nicholas gave his three sisters £0.01.00 each; one of these was Jane Wright. His wife was made executrix.

Parker, Edward. Inventory proved 5.6.1732, valued at £18.09.03. His inventory consisted of small value items, listed out of context.

Price, Alice, Widow. Inventory and will proved 27.11.1732, valued at £8.16.06. Her house in Eign Street was in the parish of All Saint's. Price married in 1692, when she was twenty-four. Her maiden name was Bell. She died aged sixty-five. She had two sons named John; the first died just over a year of age in 1703. The second became an apprentice to Walter Brace, a corviser.[953]

Baker, Joan, Spinster. Inventory proved 16.6.1733, assessed at £288.01.06. She was owed £209.17.00 by bonds and mortgages. Baker had £52.13.00 of cash in her chest of drawers. She had two lodgers.[954] Her sister Anne Griffith was made executrix and was given her estate.

Harper, Thomas, Miller. Inventory proved 16.10.1733, assessed at £3.11.00. Harper had a 'new house'; with a clock valued at £1. His wife was made executrix.

Morgan, David. Inventory proved 21.7.1733, valued at £3.05.00. His wife was called Elizabeth, and they owned basic goods.

Morris, Robert, Grocer. Inventory proved 2.5.1733, assessed at £296.08.10½. He was owed £20; he had £30 of money and was owed £51 in good debts and £19.19.11 in bad debts. Morris had book debts at Leominster and hogsheads valued at £26. Morris sold cheese on a large commercial scale with £27 of cheese in his warehouse, shop and storeroom.[955]

Philpotts, Thomas, Innholder. Inventory and will proved 13.3.1733, valued at £19.04.06. Philpotts had two houses in Widebridge Street in the parish of St. Nicholas. His grandfather may have been mayor in 1635.[956] Philpotts' parlour had eleven chairs, two bibles, a looking glass and window curtains. He had large quantities of pewter dishes and plates.

Price, John, of Hunderton, Gentleman/Yeoman. Inventory and will proved 9.4.1733, valued

[953] Dobson, *Herefordshire 1700-1820* <http://herefordshire1757-1820.typepad.co.uk> [12 September 2012]
[954] Ivan Baker and James Vaughan, Vaughan who had moved to Mrs. Pooles' was given £60.
[955] Herefordshire was not a major producer of dairy products as these goods came from Wales, Shropshire and Gloucester. David Hey, 'The North-West Midlands', *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, ed. by Joan Thirsk, 8 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967-2011), V (1984), p. 129.
[956] He was Richard Philpotts, Price, *Account of the City of Hereford*, p. 259.

at £583.09.00. He lived in the parish of St. John Baptist.[957] Various people owed Price money, amongst which was Mr. Payne from *The Pied Bull* in Bridge Street, who was in debt for £3.10.00 of cider.

Reece, John, Glover. Will proved 8.8.1733. Reece left his wife his goods and the interest from a £600 estate in Castleton in Derbyshire. His brother was given his clothes and trade goods, and his two sisters were given £2.10.00 each.

Turner, William, Sexton of St. Peter's. Inventory and will proved 7.7.1733, valued at £4.18.00. His wife was given his estate. He owned basic goods.

Troth, Joshua. Inventory made 4.12.1733, valued at £3.09.07. His house had five rooms, but his household goods were broken and patched.

Walker, William, Husbandman. Inventory proved 1.8.1733, valued at £10.16.04. He lived in Lower Bullingham and kept sheep and pigs. He had two leases of £8.10.00.

1742/43

Eysham, Richard. Will proved 16.6.1742. His brother, Tobias, a glover, died in 1732.[958] Eysham lived in Putson in the parish of St. Martin's. His grand-niece was made executrix.

Hamer, Sylvanus, Baker. His inventory was proved 1.7.1742, valued at £16.07.00. Hamer lived in the parish of All Saint's. His wares were probably baked in his house.

Heath, Elizabeth, A Widow of a Grafton Husbandman. Inventory proved 15.6.1742, valued at £16.05.00. Heath owned basic goods and £1 of cider. Her son was called Richard.

How, Emma, Widow. Will proved 3.4.1742. She requested that she was buried in Hereford cathedral. How was from a wealthy background. She gave George Phillips and his wife £70 and another £5 each for mourning. How gave her friends money and expensive items.[959] Mrs Anne Phillips was given a picture of St. Catherine suggesting that How was Roman Catholic. Her goods were given to Sarah Phillips, who was made executrix.

Gordon, Robert, Barber. Will proved 26.5.1742. Gordon gave his wife, £5; his son was given a silver tankard. John Hunt was given a mourning ring and he was nominated executor and the guardian of Gordon's children until they were twenty-one.

Graham, Samuel, Tobacconist. Will proved 27.4.1742. He gave his brothers and niece £10 each; his niece was to receive the clothes that had belonged to his mother. One of his brothers was made executor and was left his goods.

[957] He kept cows, sheep and pigs, and grew corn, wheat, pulses and clover.
[958] (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-3, Tobias Eysham, 1732.
[959] How gave the daughter of Barbara Rose of Westminster; 'One silver porringer and spoon, one silver snuff box, one silver toothpick case, a gold cipher ring with eight diamond sparks, a velvet hood and mantel, a Holland shift and apron, a quilted white waistcoat, an alamade black silk hood, a best hoop petticoat, eight breaths of white damask silk, a south tea green with lining, a gown of India damask gown, a scarlet mantua silk apron and a blue silk quilted under petticoat'.

Powell, John, Tailor. Inventory proved 25.3.1742, assessed at £421.18.04. His widow was called Elianor. His warehouse was called 'The Old House'.[960] His shop goods were valued at £114.09.06, Powell he was owed £166.16.09 in good debts, and £73.10.01 in bad debts.

Russell, Alice, Widow. Will proved 26.6.1742. Her grandson of Titley, Herefordshire was given £280 and a bed. Russell gave her daughters twelve chairs. William Weaver was given her goods and was to be executor, and the guardian of her grandson.

Scabourne, Elizabeth, Widow. Will proved 4.1.1742. Her estate was given in trust to Charles Bise, an apothecary, and George Fenton, a clothier. Scabourne gave a bed to her son-in-law, but her daughter-in-law was given household goods 'exclusive of any authority of her husband'. Scabourne gave her grandsons £15 each, but if John was to go to university he would be given £50. Her goods were divided between her four grandchildren.

Smith, Robert, Ironmonger. Will proved 24.3.1742. He gave his nephew his tenement in Sutton St. Michael, Herefordshire.

Adams, William, Maltster. Inventory proved 21.4.1743, valued at £39.17.00. Adams lived in the parish of St. Peter's. His parents were Miles and Ann Adams. He died aged seventy-four.[961]

Colley, Matthew. Will proved 2.8.1743. He lived in Putson near Hereford. Colley gave his wife his house as long as she maintained their children; their eldest son would then inherit the house.

Cooke, Richard, Innholder. Will proved 18.5.1743. He gave his six children, niece, brother and half-sister, sums of money. His wife was made executrix and was given his goods. Cooke gave £10 to two gentlemen friends to 'see his will performed'.

Jennings, Charles, Schoolmaster. Will proved 19.4.1743. His wife was to advance £40 out of her £180 to discharge the debts he made before his marriage. Jennings was to pay £180 to John Hunt, a bookseller and £40 to Timothy Howton. Jennings gave his estate in Eye, Herefordshire to his wife. If she died without children, the estate passed to his sister and her descendants. He gave £40 to his niece 'upon account of her lameness'.

Lloyd, Benedita, Widow. Will proved 7.5.1743. She had a house in Walford, Herefordshire; this was given to her daughter with £18 a year and her goods. Her son was given another property and was to pay £400 to his sister at the end of three years. He was made executor.

Lord, James, Mercer. Will proved 7.9.1743. He had land in Preston upon Wye, which he gave to his wife, if she paid his sister £5 a year and his maid £2 a year. Lord stated he was sick.

Pugh, Thomas, Clothier. Inventory proved 6.2.1743, valued at £7.04.00. He had a married daughter Anne, who was his executrix. Pugh owned basic goods and his trade implements.

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[960] This is likely to be the building that is now the Old House Museum, which dates from 1621.The Old House Museum <www.herefordshire.gov.uk/leisure-and-culture/museums-and-galleries/museums-and-galleries-general-information/#old> [10 June 2013]

[961] Dobson, *Herefordshire 1700-1820* <http://herefordshire1757-1820.typepad.co.uk> [12 September 2012]

Roberts, Constance, Widow. Will proved 11.11.1743. Her late husband gave her the house if she paid his mother £3 a year. After Robert's decease the property was to be sold if £60 was not raised to pay family members' legacies. Roberts did not have children.

Tangett, Mary, Widow. Inventory and will proved 11.4.1743, valued at £6.02.06. She died aged eighty-three.[962] She gave her son a furnace and her grandson a bed. Her goods were given to her daughter, who was made executrix.

Taylor, Alice, A Widow of a Confectioner. Will proved 1.6.1743. Her husband was Benjamin Taylor. Their two sons and three daughters received goods and money.

Watson, Thomas, Biscuit maker. Inventory and will proved 1.4.1743, valued at £17.7.00. The shop goods were assessed at £3.10.00. His wife was given his goods and made executrix.

1752/3

Bee, Mary, Spinster. Inventory proved 5.1.1752, valued at £12.06.1½. Spinster was most likely her occupation. Her husband was a corviser and he became a freeman 1713/4. Her maiden name was Parsons and she married at All Saint's church in 1714. Bee had at least three children, her eldest son; became an apprentice to John Taylor, corviser in 1729, when he was eleven.[963]

Cox, Thomas, Barber. Inventory proved 22.2.1752, assessed at £101.14.00½. He had two leases. Cox had £16.11.10 of silver and gold. The goods in his parlour were valued at £5.17.04 and his shop goods were assessed at £4.

Croft, Mary, Spinster. Will proved 25.1.1752. She lived in the parish of St. John Baptist. She and her brother witnessed the will of Mary Read in 1750.[964] Her sister married James Wilde, a Ludlow bookseller.[965] Croft gave her property to her brother and appointed him executor.

Ferrar, Joseph, A Pensioner of William's Hospital/ Weaver. Inventory proved 24.4.1752, valued at £8.19.00. He gave his goods to his wife. Ferrar cut his son off and gave his granddaughter a feather bed and bolster.

Mills, Sible, Widow. Inventory and will proved 6.5.1752, assessed at £9.04.00. She claimed she was 'aged'. Mills gave her money, leases and goods to her two married granddaughters. She was owed £3.01.06 from Mr Pickering of London.

Price, Thomas, Tiler. Inventory and will proved 15.7.1752, valued at £23.07.01. He lived in the parish of All Saint's. Price gave his wife his goods. After her decease, his estate was bequeathed to his father.

Weale, Jane, W*idow/Shopkeeper*. Inventory and will proved 26.6.1752, assessed at

[962] Havergal and Clarke, *Hereford Cathedral*, p. 23.
[963] Dobson, *Herefordshire 1700-1820* <http://herefordshire1757-1820.typepad.co.uk> [12 September 2012]
[964] (HRO), Will, AA20, pp. 1-3, Mary Read, 1753.
[965] Wilde was a Ludlow alderman, who died aged seventy-three in 1769. His wife, Frances died in 1764, aged sixty-one. Their son became the rector of Knucking in Shropshire and died in 1761. David Lloyd and others, *St. Laurence's Church, Ludlow, The Parish Church and People, 1199-2009* (Logaston: Logaston Press, 2010), p. 156.

£39.05.00. Weale lived in the parish of St. Peter's. Her shop goods were valued at £8; these were given to her grandson. Weale had three sons to which she divided her share in two properties outside Byster's gate.

Andrews, Anne, W*idow*. Inventory and will proved 1753, valued at £18.06.06. She lived in the parish of All Saints. Andrews had a married son and a daughter, who was made sole executrix.

Bird, Benjamin, Gentleman. Will proved 17.5.1753. He lived in the parish of St. Martin's. He died aged seventy-one and had lived at Hunt House in Neen Savage, Shropshire. Bird was the first member of his family to live in Drybridge House: this he rebuilt in 1742. Bird was a freeman and married Jane Gwynne in 1735, she was his second wife; she was born around 1702 in Cynghordy Castle, Carmethenshire. Bird had twelve children by two wives.[966]

Cowles, Eleanor, Widow. Her will was proved 17.9.1753. Cowles' husband had been a maltster; his will was proved in 1738.[967] They had lived in the parish of St. Nicolas. She rewarded her friend, £50 for 'managing her affairs'. She gave her estate to her nephew and his daughter.

Hedges, Anne, Wife of Roger Hedges. Will proved 11.2.1753. Hedges was elderly with grandchildren. She had a share in an estate at Stretton Sugwas, Herefordshire. She did not make her husband executor.

Jones, Stephen, Blacksmith. Inventory and will proved 1.2.1753, valued at £18. He cut off his daughter and grandson. Jones' wife was made sole executrix.

Lingen, Edmund, C*ollermaker*. Will proved 1.2.1753. Lingen lived in the parish of All Saint's. Lingen had land in Marden in Herefordshire. Lingen offered his tenant the opportunity to buy his meadow otherwise it reverted to his widow and children.

Mynd, Margaret, Spinster. Will proved 17.3.1753. Mynd lived in the parish of St. Owen's. Mynd had three properties in Hereford. She cut her sister and brother-in-law off; they were saddlers who lived in London.

Vaughan, Thomas. Will proved 17.5.1753. He lived in the parish of St. Peter's. Relations between his children were not cordial. Thomas and Anne were cut off, whilst Isabella married to a Hereford butcher was described as 'dutiful' and 'well beloved' was given property and goods that had belonged to her father.. Vaughan requested that Thomas and Anne did not trouble, molest or disturb Isabella to 'merit her love and kind affection'.

Read, Mary, S*pinster*. Will proved 10.3.1753. She wished to be buried in Byford Church. She gave money to her nephews and niece.

Wiggins, Mary, Spinster. Will proved 1753. She lived in the parish of St. Peter's. Wiggins' gave money and goods to her brother-in-law and sister. Wiggins' sister Elizabeth was made sole executrix.

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[966] His eldest son became a maltster and customs officer; his second son was a student at Brasenose College, Oxford, but died before he could be ordained. The fourth son of Bird became a JP and an alderman The Bird Pedigree < http://www.richardbird.info/RBIRD/Birdfamilytree.htm> Accessed [9 November 2012]
[967] (TNA), Will, AH70/247, p. 1, George Cowles, 1738.

Wright, Jane, W*idow*. Inventory and will proved 11.4.1753, valued at £32.18.08. Wright lived in the parish of All Saint's. Her daughters received the estate. One was further rewarded with £20 for nursing her mother and leaving her position in London.

Tewkesbury middling sort

The probate documents between 1662 and 1693 are taken from *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories, 1601-1700*, ed. by Bill Rennison and Cameron Talbot (Tewkesbury: Tewkesbury Historical Society, 1996), pp. 118-278. The Tewkesbury probate documents from Gloucester Record Office have individual reference numbers for each inventory and will. They are in alphabetical order.

(GRO) - Gloucester Record Office

1662/3

Dobbins, (Dobyns), William, Maltster, (GRO 1662/211). Will proved 1662. He was from a maltster family. His grandfather was from Prescot. Dobbins' father, Thomas and brother, Henry were freemen in 1619 and1645.[968] Henry died in 1688; he lived at Gubshill.[969] His son, Henry was bailiff in 1698.[970] John died in 1691; he owned a farm in Aston under Hill, Gloucestershire. John had leases in Hampton Bishop, Herefordshire and in Walton Cardiff, near Tewkesbury.[971] Dobbins was a bachelor and divided his estate between his three brothers and sister; their children were under twenty-one and his sister was pregnant.

Higgins, John, Gentleman/Maltster, (GRO 1662/101). Inventory and will proved 1662, valued at £395.05.00. Higgins was born around 1615 and died aged forty-seven. He married Elizabeth Smithsend around 1640; they had no children. She also died aged forty-seven in 1665. Higgins was apprenticed to his mother and became a freeman in 1647.[972] Higgins' home had six rooms with six hearths; he paid £0.22.00 Ship Tax in 1638 for a house in the High Street.[973] His money and debts totalled £250. Higgins owned the village inn at Oxenton and two tenements in Howell Lane.[974]

Porter, Thomas, Mason, (GRO 1661/156). Will proved 1662. Porter became a freeman in 1633; he served his apprenticeship under William Winter, a mason. His brother also became a freeman in the same year; he was apprenticed to their father, a saddler.[975]

Shewell, William, Dyer, (GRO 1674/135). Will made 1662. Shewell was a widower with three married daughters, a son and a grandchild. He had two houses, a shop, a dye house and five tenements. He was granted freeman status in 1628.[976]

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[968] N. Day. *They Used to Live in Tewkesbury* (Stroud: Sutton, 1991), p. 195.
[969] Henry Dobbins, 1688. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories, 1601-1700*, ed. by Bill Rennison and Cameron Talbot (Tewkesbury: Tewkesbury Historical Society, 1996), pp. 231-2.
[970] James Bennett, *The History of Tewkesbury* (Trowbridge and Esther: Redwood Burn Ltd, 1830), p. 422.
[971] (TNA), Will, PROB 11/425/284, pp. 1-3, John Dobyns, 1691.
[972] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 207.
[973] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 141.
[974] His wife had a property in Pigeon House Yard. Elizabeth Higgins, 1665, *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 142-3.
[975] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 227.
[976] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 235.

Willis, William, Joyner, (G.R.O 1670/205). Inventory and will proved 1670, will made 1662, valued at £38. Willis owned his house in Barton Street and lived with his wife and son. His sawn timber was assessed at £20.

Barnsfield, Thomas, Brazier, (GRO 1662/198). Inventory and will proved 1663, valued at £38.09.08. Barnsfield became a freeman in 1629 and had been apprenticed to his father.[977] His wife was left his goods; relatives were given £0.10.00 each.

Dunford, John, Chapman, (GRO 1662/107). Inventory and will proved 1663, assessed at £9.06.10. He was made a freeman in 1629 and was born at Stoke Orchard. Dunford served his apprenticeship under his father, Robert Dunford.[978] Dunford was elderly. The Cross House was given to his wife to sell to settle his debts.

Gale, Maria, Widow, (GRO 1665/91). Will made 1663. Her maiden name was Hobbs. Gale had at least one son. Gale gave forty poor people, £0.01.00 each.

Guy, William, Innholder of The WoolPack, (GRO 1663/244). Will proved 1663. He became a freeman in 1639; he served his apprenticeship under John Mann.[979] Guy had three sons and two daughters. His inn had been situated on the site of Trafalgar House in the High Street. *The Woolpack* was described as an ancient hostel at the time of its demolition in 1879.[980]

Griffin, Abraham, Yeoman, (GRO 1663/133). Inventory and will proved 1663, valued at £411.07.00. Griffin lived at Tewkesbury Lodge. Griffin had fifty acres; this was valued at £120. He had a lease valued at £30. Griffin had four sons and two daughters. His eldest son and two brother-in-laws were cut off. His youngest sons were made executors and received his goods. His servant Jane Milton received £20, 'in satisfaction of her service'.

Jeynes, John, Husbandman, (GRO 1663/168). Inventory proved 1663, valued at £29.05.00. He was a freeman and was apprenticed to Edward Jeynes, a joiner in 1648. His father lived in the High street in 1638 and paid £0.22.00 Ship Tax.[981]

Kent, Henry, Bricklayer, (GRO 1663/70). Will proved 1663. His brother was a bricklayer who became a freeman in 1647. Their father was a shoemaker.[982] His wife was given his two houses in St. Mary's Street. Kent cut off his brothers and his nephews.

Mearson, Nicholas, Ironmonger, (GRO 1663/135). Will proved in 1663. Mearson became a freeman in 1657; he was the eldest son of Nicolas Mearson. His father lived in the High Street in 1638.[983] Mearson owned some cottages and gardens in Avonside. He received property from his uncle Kenelm Mearson; the land was first left to his father.[984]

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[977] Day, *Tewkesbury,* p. 184.
[978] Day, *Tewkesbury,* p. 195.
[979] Day, *Tewkesbury,* p. 203.
[980] The association with the Guy name continued in this inn until 1774-94 with the last innholder being Mary Guy. B. R. Linnell, *Tewkesbury Pubs* (Cheltenham: Theoc Press, 1996), p. 82.
[981] Day, *Tewkesbury,* pp. 31, 212.
[982] Day, *Tewkesbury,* p. 216.
[983] Day, *Tewkesbury,* pp. 140, 222.
[984] Will of Kenelm Mearson, gentleman, proved 1642.
<http://www.tewkesburyhistory.com/wills/kenelmmearson.html> Accessed [26 October 2012]

William Mince, Tanner. (GRO 1663/244). His will was proved in 1663. The Mince family were an established Tewkesbury family that had connections to Worcestershire. William Mince became a freeman in 1623; he completed his apprenticeship under his uncle, John Turberville, a tanner. His brother was Richard, a gentleman. He was granted freeman status in 1614, and became churchwarden in 1622-3.[985] Mince died in 1666.[986] His daughter married Richard Bubb.

Mince paid £0.01.00 for his property in the High Street in the 1638 Ship Tax. He had three sons; they were given household goods. Richard, who was heir and executor of the will of his father, paid his brothers £5 each.[987] His eldest son became a freeman in 1654. He served his apprenticeship under his father. The grandson of William, Richard was born in 1651. He lived in the High Street and was a maltster; he became a freeman in 1686, and served in the Common Council. He had seven children and was buried in Tewkesbury Abbey.[988]

Mopp, Robert, Labourer/Stocking maker. (GRO 1663/147). Inventory and will proved 1663, assessed at £29.14.00. Mopp was a labourer, who also made stockings. Mopp lived at the Millbank. He bequeathed his goods to his brothers and their family. He was listed in the 1671 Hearth Tax as a labourer with one hearth.

Palmer, Nicolas, Chandler, (GRO 1663/154). Inventory proved 1663, assessed at £57.06.02. He became a freeman in 1632; his apprenticeship was served under Richard Kings, a painter.[989] Palmer had five rooms in his house and a shop, which sold tobacco and groceries.

Stowt, William, (GRO 1663/289). Inventory proved 1663, valued at £54.15.10. Stowt finished his apprenticeship with his father and became a freeman in 1649. He was born at Calne in Wiltshire. Stowt had £23.11.00 of money and gold rings valued at £1. He had eight rooms in his property. Stowt was owed £12 in desperate debts.

1672/3

Tuston, Thomas, (G.R.O 1671/2). Will proved 1671/2. He owned land in Ashchurch, which he gave to his nephew. Tuston held a lease of land in Kinnersley.

Bower, Gyles, Gentleman, (GRO 1672/28). Will proved 1672. His wife was named Hannah and they had three sons under twenty-one.

Cooke, John, Cutler, (GRO 1672/54). Will proved 1672. He became a freeman in 1646, he was the eldest son and apprentice of John Cooke, cutler.[990] He was married and had a sister, no children were mentioned.

Clarke the Senior, Katherine, Widow, (GRO 1675/48). Inventory and will proved 1675, will made 1673, valued at £101.01.04. Her maiden name was Jennings and her brother was a

[985] Day, *Tewkesbury,* pp. 44, 221. *Churchwarden's Accounts, 1563*-1624, ed. by C. J. Litzenberger, Gloucestershire, Glos. Record Series, 7 (Stroud: Sutton for Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1994), p. xxiii.
[986] He claimed he was weak in body because of age and grief for the loss of his 'brave wife'. (TNA), Will, PROB 11/320/16, pp. 1-3, Richard Mince, 1666.
[987] Their father hoped Richard would be able to 'peacablie and quietlie enjoy the house and goods'.
[988] Day, *Tewkesbury,* pp. 43-4, 141, 221-2.
[989] Day, *Tewkesbury,* p. 227.
[990] Day, *Tewkesbury,* p. 190.

gentleman. Clarke had two daughters, one married and one widowed and eight grandchildren. She owned property. Clark had personalized flaxen napkins marked with 'F and N', which she gave to her daughter. Her clothes were made from silk, wool and linen and assessed at £24. Clarke had two silver cups and three silver spoons valued at £3.

Warren, Mary, Widow, (GRO 1673/13). Inventory and will proved in 1673, valued at £123.03.03. She owned jewellery, £38.03.00 of silver plate and fifteen gold coins. Warren was connected to the gentry in Tewkesbury. She lived out of trunks suggesting she might have recently moved to a smaller property.[991]

Wood, Thomasine, Widow/Shopkeeper, (GRO 1673/149). Will proved 1673. She died aged fifty-nine. She was the second wife of John Wood, who died in 1661, aged eighty-one.[992] She had a son and two married daughters.

1682/3

Chester, Edmund, (GRO 1682/28). Will proved 1682. Chester became a freeman in 1648. He was the third son of Thomas Clarke.[993] His goods were to be divided between his wife and daughter.

Jeynes, Nathaniel, Joiner, (GRO 1682/231). Will made 1682. He had an unmarried daughter, son, and two grandchildren. He had property in Fiddington.

Lyes, William, C*utler,* (GRO 1682/212). Will proved 1682. He left his wife his estate. Lyes became a freeman in 1640 and his brother achieved the same status in 1645; they were both apprenticed to their father, who lived in Barton Street. Lyes' sons also became freemen, William, (1682), John, (1688) and Jacob, (1699).[994] Mary, the widow of died in 1719 aged fifty-eight. She was the daughter of Thomas and Anne Smithsend; she married John Lye in 1695. He died in 1717 aged fifty-seven, leaving his estate to Mary.[995]

Millington, John, Mercer, (GRO 1681/191). Will proved 1682. Millington was granted freeman status in 1680; he served his apprenticeship with his father, who became a freeman in 1631. Millington died in 1681 aged thirty-four.[996] The Millington's were an important and wealthy mercer family. Millington had three brothers and two sisters. Samuel lived in London. Stephen died in 1700.[997] His sister, Sarah married Robert Porter, a gentleman. His cousin, Anne Millington married Thomas Smithsend. They had three children and lived in Walton Cardiff. Her husband was churchwarden 1662/3. He died in 1665 aged forty-eight.[998]

Nanfan, Thomas, Gentleman/Major (GRO 1685/24). Inventory assessed at £89.02.00, will

[991] Karen Banks, 'The Cat with the Cream? Gentility through Possessions in Seventeenth-Century Tewkesbury', *Tewkesbury Historical Society*, 20 (2011), 41-44.
[992] Day, *Tewkesbury,* pp. 338-48.
[993] Day, *Tewkesbury,* p. 190.
[994] *Tewkesbury,* Day, p. 218.
[995] Smithsend Tewkesbury Family Tree. <http://dsweb.svc.ops.eu.uu.net/town/drive/acs34/index1112.htm> Accessed [20 November 2012]
[996] Day, *Tewkesbury,* pp. 221, 222, 338-348.
[997] Stephen Millington, 1700. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories,* ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 289-91.
[998] Smithsend Tewkesbury Family Tree. <http://dsweb.svc.ops.eu.uu.net/town/drive/acs34/index1112.htm> Accessed [20 November 2012]

made 1682. He died in his late sixties. Nanfan had been a Major during the Civil War supporting the Royalist cause. During the conflict, he lost several members of his family. Nanfan was involved in politics, a close friend being Sir Francis Russell, five times M.P. for Tewkesbury between 1673 and 1689.[999] He was not born in Tewkesbury and came to the town in the 1650s aged around thirty.[1000] In 1662, Nanfan was brought into the Corporation to replace removed officers.[1001] His ancestral family home was at Birtsmorton Court, a fifteenth-century moated grange in Worcestershire.[1002] Nanfan was town bailiff in 1666, 1678, and 1684; he died whilst in office. [1003] Nanfan lived in Church Street.[1004] He had three sons and a daughter. He was owed £50.17.00 upon bond.[1005]

Clarke, Joseph, Baker, (GRO 1683/74). Will proved 1683. He was a freeman and had two brothers and two brother-in-laws. His apprentice was Robert Best, who became a freeman in 1682.[1006]

Holford, Anne, Spinster, (GRO 1683/4). Will proved 1683. She gave her goods to relatives.

Read, Elizabeth, Widow, (GRO 1683/57). Will made 1683. Her brother, John Darke became a freeman in 1688 and was a tailor. The family came from Worcestershire.[1007] Read was the sister-in-law of Bartholomew Read. A niece was made sole executrix.

Tandy, Michael, Innholder, (GRO 1684/441). Inventory and will made 1683, proved 1684, valued at £90.02.06. His wife was made executrix, his son was given £10 with wool and linen clothes. Tandy operated a shop in his inn.

1692/3

Allen, John, Apothecary, (GRO 1691/24) and *Elizabeth Allen, Widow,* (GRO 1691/25). Wills proved 1691/2. They were proved eight days apart. Allen became a freeman in 1682; he was the son of John Allen, an apothecary, who came from Droitwich.[1008]

Best, Robert, Baker, (GRO 1692/137). Inventory proved 1692, valued at £12.10.06. He became a freeman in 1682 and served his apprenticeship with Joseph Clarke, a baker.[1009] His administration was granted to his widow. Most of his debts, (£2.10.00) were 'very desperate'.

Brush, Charles, Maltster, (GRO 1692/55). Inventory and will proved 1692, assessed at £99.17.11. Brush died aged fifty-nine. He was from an established Tewkesbury family, which had fishing rights that dated back to the sixteenth century. Brush was born in 1633 and

[999] Russell, Sir Francis, 2nd Bt. (c.1638-1706, of Strensham, Worcestershire. <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/russell-sir-francis> Accessed [11 September 2012]
[1000] Daniel C. Beaver, *Parish Communities and Religious Conflict in the Vale of Gloucester, 1590-1690* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), p. 296.
[1001] Bennett, *The History of Tewkesbury*, p. 420.
[1002] Bennett, *The History of Tewkesbury*, p. 421.
[1003] Bennett, *The History of Tewkesbury*, p. 422.
[1004] Gloucester Record Office, Gloucestershire Hearth Tax Assessments for Michaelmas, D383, 1671-2.
[1005] Karen Banks, 'Not What They Want, But what is Good for them', *Tewkesbury Historical Society*, 22 (2013), 15-17.
[1006] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 185.
[1007] Day, *Tewkesbury*, pp. 195-6.
[1008] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 181.
[1009] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 185.

married Mary Hall; their daughter, Ann, was born in 1677.[1010] His parents were John and Elinor Brush, who were married in 1623. His brother Edward was an innholder from Barton Street.[1011] Brush had £6 of money and was owed £28 in 'hopeful' debts.

Chapman, George, Distiller, (GRO 1692/264). Inventory and will proved 1692, inventory valued at £26.01.00. He was the eldest son of Henry Chapman and became a freeman in 1633.[1012] His wife was as sole executrix; she was given his goods and property.

Charnoke, Thomas, Husbandman, (GRO 1698/31). Inventory and will proved 1698, will made 1692, valued at £16.12.00. He was married and had grandchildren.

Heyward, Philip, Mercer, (GRO 1692/213). Will proved 1692. He was born in 1624 and died aged seventy. Heyward provided for two sons and a daughter, although he had five children. His wife died before him, (1622-1692).[1013] His youngest son was made executor. His daughter received £200 and some goods. Heyward produced his own trade tokens between 1649 and 1672.[1014] He was elected as overseer in 1653, constable in 1654, and assistant councillor in 1675. Heyward paid tax on two hearths for his High Street house.[1015] His father was William Heyward, a yeoman from Bushley. He was apprenticed in 1638 to John Okey, a mercer. His family were buried in Tewkesbury Abbey.[1016]

Mearson, Sarah, Widow, (GRO 1692/62). Inventory and will proved 1692, assessed at £25.01.00. She was the widow of Nicholas Mearson, ironmonger and was pregnant at the time of his decease.[1017] Her son died before her; he was a non-conformist, who left her property. Mearson wanted her houses sold to pay the debts of her son, her legacies and to carry out the last wishes of her son; to pay a minister £0.12.00 per year for ever.

Reekes, John, Tobacconist, (GRO 1692/242). Will proved 1692. His nephews were under twenty-one and his father was still living. Reekes' grandfather was a yeoman from Bredon in Worcestershire. His father, John became a freeman in 1663. Reekes achieved freeman status in 1683, having served an apprenticeship as a shoemaker.[1018] Reekes bequeathed his property and money to his family. The Reeks were connected by marriage to the Jeynes family.

Walker, Hannah, W*idow/Chandler*, (GRO 1693/264). Inventory and will proved 1693, inventory valued at £64.03.00. Walker operated a chandler's shop. She gave money to her sisters. Walker appointed her cousin, sole executrix. She had no children.

Fisher, Edward, (GRO 1693/79). Inventory proved 1693, valued at £30. Letters of administration was granted to his grandson. Fisher had the lease of an old house valued at £30.

[1010] She was not mentioned in his will.
[1011] Day, *Tewkesbury*, pp. 48-9, 58.
[1012] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 190.
[1013] Bill Camp, 'The Tewkesbury Token Issuers, (1649-72)', *The Tewkesbury Historical Society*, 10 (2001), 52-55, (54).
[1014] Bill Camp, 'A Review of Trade Tokens up to and including the Seventeenth Century', *The Tewkesbury Historical Society*, 4 (1995), 25-30, (25).
[1015] Camp, 'The Tewkesbury Token Issuers', 54.
[1016] Camp, 'A Review of Trade Tokens ', p. 31.
[1017] Nicholas Mearson, 1663. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 125-6.
[1018] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 232.

Merrill, Sarah, Married Woman, (GRO 1693/56). Inventory and will proved 1693, valued at £100. She was the wife of Isaac Merrill, baker, he was made a freeman in 1672, serving his apprenticeship with Richard Cooke.[1019] Isaac Merrill was bailiff in 1707.[1020] He also had an apprentice, Henry Craswell in 1714.[1021] Her maiden name was Chester.

Morris, John, Maltster, (GRO 1694/171). Inventory and will proved 1693, valued at £51.01.06. He lived for two years in the house that he died in. He had a sister and nephews. He was not married.

Pompfrey, William, Cooper, (GRO 1693/41). Inventory proved 1693, valued at £5.07.02. Letters of administration were granted to his nephew. He became a freeman in 1649. His father had three sons. His eldest son was a cooper and freeman from 1650. Edward was apprenticed to Richard Turner, butcher, he achieved freeman status in 1652. Their father lived in Barton Street and paid £0.05.00 Ship Tax in 1638.[1022]

Vaughan, Magdalen, Spinster, (GRO 1694/227). Inventory proved 1694; will made 1693, assessed at £60.16.08. Her cousin was Penelope Laight and her kinsman was Robert Jennings.

Read, Hester, Spinster, and (GRO 1694/24). Inventory and will proved 1694. Will made 1693, valued at £2. She was a daughter of Bartholomew and Katherine Read; they had three sons and three daughters. They lived in 'The Hat Shop' in Church Street. They enlarged and sub-divided their property and had tenants in the alley behind.[1023] They made gloves and had a shop. Bartholomew Read became a freeman in 1648, serving his apprenticeship with John James.[1024] He was removed from Tewkesbury Corporation in 1662 with other officers for supporting Parliament.[1025] Read died in 1680 and his property was divided between his children; Hester was given three tenements and outbuildings. However, Read only owned some money, clothes and two silver objects. She divided her property between her brothers and sisters, two of her brothers died in 1743, (Samuel) and 1744, (John).[1026]

Smith, Joseph Maltster, (GRO 1694/170. Will made 1693, proved 1694. He was made a freeman in 1686. Smith served his apprenticeship under his father, a shoemaker.[1027] He lived in Oldbury with his wife Elianor. Morris had two sons and two daughters. His four grandchildren were under twenty-one.

Wright, Elizabeth, Widow, (GRO 1694/237). Inventory and will proved 1694, will made 1693, valued at £18.03.00. She lived in the High Street in a sub-divided house with Henry Dobbins. Wright gave her goods and property to her nieces and nephews, excluding one niece. She did not have children. Her husband was Henry Wright, a freeman from 1624; he served his apprenticeship with John Fisher.[1028]

[1019] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 222.
[1020] Bennett, *The History of Tewkesbury*, p. 423.
[1021] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 192.
[1022] Day, *Tewkesbury*, pp. 12, 228.
[1023] Anthea Jones, 'The Old Hat Shop', *Tewkesbury Historical Society*, 1 (1992), 1-5, (3).
[1024] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 232.
[1025] Bennett, *The History of Tewkesbury*, p. 420.
[1026] Jones, 'The Old Hat Shop', p. 3.
[1027] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 237.
[1028] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 246.

1702/3

Guy, Hannah, Innholder. (GRO 1702/15). Inventory made in 1702, valued at £49.16.06. Her house contained eleven rooms. Her parlour contained a form and a chair. Hannah Guy may have been the daughter-in-law of William Guy.[1029]

Hanus, John, Shopkeeper, (GRO 1702/157). Inventory proved 1702, valued at £38.05.00. He sold hemp and flax and lived above his shop.

Hope, Rowland, Gentleman, (GRO 1703129). Will proved 1703. He became a freeman in 1688.[1030] His son, Rowland was under 21. Hope owned a meadow and leases. His wife had property in Colwell, Herefordshire, if this did not maintain her 'handsomely'; she could be supported out of his estate during the time of the minority of her son.

Jeynes, John, Glover, (GRO 1702/174). Inventory and will made 1702, valued at £10.18.06. He died aged sixty. He became a freeman in 1686. [1031] Jeynes was bailiff in 1702 and was described as a gentleman.[1032] His wife was called Margaret; she was left his house and goods. He had two sons and a grandson.

Kings, Richard, Gentleman, (GRO 1702/146). Will proved 1702. His house in the High Street was given to his daughter with £100 and a diamond ring. His other daughter, not yet christened was given the other property at Tewkesbury Quay. His brother was made executor. He was made a freeman in 1702.[1033]

Sweet, Richard, (GRO 1702/157). Will made 1702. His mother was Joan Sweet, a widow, who died intestate in 1693.[1034] His wife, Sarah, was John Reekes' auntie. He left her £5 to be paid £0.10.00 a quarter, but if she was reduced to poverty, then Reekes executors could pay her the money.[1035] His daughter-in-law was widowed. Sweet had three other sons and two married daughters. He owned property in Sweet Alley, named after himself or a relative.

Lane, John, Gentleman, (GRO 1703/189). Inventory proved 1703, valued at £384.19.04. He was sworn into the Common Council in 1687.[1036]

Mansel, Richard, Yeoman. (GRO 1703/51). Inventory made 1703 and valued at £338.17.08. He died aged sixty-five.[1037] Mansel gave his estate at The Mythe to his eldest son and he owned a meadow at Avon Ham Hall. Mansel gave money and goods to his three sons, married daughter, and two grandchildren. He gave £3 to the poor of Tewkesbury.[1038] His

[1029] His son was called William and there is an inventory recorded as 'William Willetts alias Guy'. Why he was known by a different name is unknown. He died intestate, but letters of administration were granted to his widow Hannah Willets alias Guy. The two inventories were similar in date and in value. Willets' 1694 inventory was valued at £48.03.00. William Willetts alias Guy, 1694. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, p. 259.
[1030] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 208.
[1031] Day, *Tewkesbury*, pp. 213, 341.
[1032] Bennett, *The History of Tewkesbury*, p. 422.
[1033] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 216.
[1034] Joan Sweet, 1693. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, p.252
[1035] John Reekes, 1692. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp.249-50.
[1036] Bennett, *The History of Tewkesbury*, p. 422.
[1037] Day, *Tewkesbury*, pp. 338-48.
[1038] Mansel also requested that the minister of Tewkesbury Abbey was to be bought a ring costing £0.10.00, which he was to accept 'as a token of my love' and the minister was to preach a sermon for him.

debts and money amounted to £273.

Pitt, Richard, Tanner, (GRO 1703/219). Inventory and will proved 1703, valued at £338.06.06. He became a freeman in 1678; he came from Colwall in Herefordshire.[1039] Pitt gave his house in Church Street to his wife; it then passed to his married daughter in Pershore. Pitt had two sisters, a son and four grandchildren under twenty-one. He made charitable bequests to the poor of three parishes.

Porter, Robert, Gentleman/Mercer, (GRO 1703/232). Will proved 1703. He died aged sixty-eight. Porter was from Gloucester and came to Tewkesbury when he was twenty-six in 1660.[1040] He became a freeman in 1660; he was a mercer and was named after his father.[1041] The wife of Robert Porter, senior was Sarah Millington, who had four brothers and was from a Tewkesbury mercer family.[1042] The younger Robert Porter was bailiff in 1671. In 1680, he was elected to the Corporation, but refused to serve; paying £25 to be excused.[1043] Porter may have had two brothers, John and Samuel. He married Eleanor and had two children, his married daughter; Sarah Glyn was paid £3 every year, his son received the house in Tewkesbury.

1712/13

George, Robert, Collermaker, (GRO 1713/1). Inventory proved 1712, assessed at £54.11.06. George became a freeman in 1671; he was the son of Robert George of Bishops Norton.[1044]

Jones, William, Brazier, (GRO 1712/305). Inventory and will proved 1712, valued at £371.10.00. Jones died aged sixty-seven. He was the eldest son of William Jones of Winchcombe, brazier.[1045] Jones was married with three sons and a daughter. He owned property in Worcestershire; his widow received rent from his tenants.

Needham, Tobias, Hosier, (GRO 1712/515). Inventory and will made 1712, assessed at £55.02.09. Needham became a freeman in 1679 and was described as a jersey man. He had served his apprenticeship with William Durston. Needham was a widower with four children; one son was cut off. His daughters were paid £10 each. Tobias, another son, who became a freeman in 1700, received the rest of his estate and was executor. [1046]

Ellis, Peter, Innholder, (GRO 1713/246). Will proved 1713. He was the landlord of *The White Hart* in Quay Street.[1047] Ellis' wife was called Martha; they had no children. His nephew, Richard of Cheltenham was to receive the inn, paying Ellis' widow £5 annuity twice a year. Martha also received the rent from their tenants.

Jones, William, Shoemaker, (GRO 1713/340). Inventory proved 1713, valued at £14.07.08.

[1039] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 228.
[1040] Beaver, *Parish Communities*, p. 296.
[1041] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 228.
[1042] John Millington, 1681/2. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 202-3.
[1043] Bennett, *The History of Tewkesbury*, pp. 420, 422.
[1044] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 203.
[1045] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 213.
[1046] Day, *Tewkesbury*, pp. 224-5. See also Karen Banks, 'A Stitch in Time': Tewkesbury's 17th and 18th Century Stocking Manufacturers', *Tewkesbury Historical Society*, 21 (2012), 9-13.
[1047] Linnell, *Tewkesbury Pubs*, p. 81.

He became a freeman in 1788.[1048]

Moore, John, Mercer, (GRO 1713/159). Inventory proved 1713, valued at £440. He was the second son of George Moore, a gentleman; he became a freeman in 1705.[1049]

Sherwood, Mary, Widow, (GRO 1713/314). Will proved 1713. She was elderly. Sherwood gave her daughter, £500 and her goods; her other daughter married a Lechlade mercer and received her land.

1722/3

Church, Thomas, Yeoman, (GRO 1722/268). Inventory proved 1722, valued at £14.05.00. He owned basic goods and had pigs.

Jenkins, John, Currier, (GRO 1722/62). Inventory and will proved 1722, valued at £73.03.06. Jenkins died aged forty-nine. He became a freeman in 1709, after serving an apprenticeship with William walker, a shoemaker.[1050] Jenkins had three daughters and a son who were cut off. His house was given to his wife, Ann and then to his daughter.

Ransford, William, Cooper, (GRO 1722/31). Inventory proved 1722, valued at £3.17.00. He became a freeman in 1686. The brother and nephew of Ransford were also coopers. [1051] His house contained basic goods.

Waddington, Charles, Periwig maker, (GRO 1722/35). Will proved 1722. Waddington left money to his uncles, cousins and friends. His servant was given the remainder of his lease and his 'shaving tackle and working tools'.

Moore, Cornelius, Fisherman, (GRO 1723/174). Inventory proved 1723, assessed at £18.02.02. He owned basic goods.

1732/33

Baker, Daniel, Cordwainer, (GRO 1732/128). Will proved 1732. He was apprenticed to John Tidmarsh, 'calivar' and became a freeman in 1699.[1052]

Barnes, John, Maltster, (GRO 1732/207). Inventory proved 1732, valued at £12.13.00. He owned only basic goods.

Farren, Abraham, Glazier, (GRO 1732/120). Will proved 1732. He was a gentleman and bailiff in 1713. His eldest daughter was under twenty. Farren lived in Birch Street with his wife. Her mother Mary Stock, a widow died in 1752.[1053] He was the eldest son of Abraham Farren, a plumber, who became a freeman in 1686. Farren was nominated a council member in 1698 and was bailiff in 1704. [1054] The mother of Abraham Farren the younger died in

[1048] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 213.
[1049] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 223.
[1050] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 213.
[1051] Day, *Tewkesbury*, pp. 232-3.
[1052] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 185.
[1053] Gloucester, Gloucester Record Office, (Ever after (GRO)), Will, 1752/6, pp. 1-2, Mary Stock, 1752.
[1054] Bennett, *The History of Tewkesbury*, p. 423.

1720; she was buried in Tewkesbury Abbey.[1055]

Cotton, Thomas, Innholder. (GRO 1733/103). Inventory made 1733 and valued at £605. Cotton owned a large quality inn. His inn contained fifteen rooms. Cotton had £60 of wine, £56.10.00 of bottled cider, and thirty casks of ale with cheese assessed at £55. Cotton provided tea in 'small earthen tea dishes'.[1056]

Craswell, John, Yeoman, (G.R.O 1733/240). Will proved 1733. Craswell completed his apprenticeship as a blacksmith and became a freeman in 1714. His father and grandfather worked in the same trade. The father of Craswell was admitted as a freeman in 1698.[1057] His wife was given his estate in Deerhurst and their home. His son and a kinsman were given his estate in Bishop's Cleeve.

Laight, William, (GRO 1733/53). Inventory and will proved 1733, valued at £8.10.00. His mother, Elizabeth died in 1700.[1058] Edward Laight was bailiff 1667, 1701, 1705, 1711 and 1721. This was possibly a father and son. There was also John Laight who held the position in 1727. These men were described as gentlemen.[1059] Laight had a brother called Edward and John Laight witnessed the document. The Laights in Tewkesbury were mainly tradesmen.[1060] His wife was made executrix; she was given his house. His son was cut off and Laight was disappointed in his daughter's intended choice of husband and also threatened to cut her off.[1061]

Face, John, Shoemaker, (GRO 1733/183). Will proved 1733. He became a freeman in 1689; he served his apprenticeship with Josesph Jones.[1062] Face was a widower who owned mortgaged land in Twying, Gloucestershire. His spinster daughters received his land. Another daughter was the wife of a mariner; she had already been given more than the value of the land.

Jefferies, Samuel, Goldsmith, (GRO 1733/147). Inventory and will proved 1733. Inventory assessed at £86.03.05. Jefferies died aged fifty-five. He was son and apprentice to Frances Jefferies; he became a freeman in 1686.[1063] He owned property on the High Street. He had a son and two daughters. His house was left to his wife, then to his son if he paid his sisters £60 each.

Jeynes, Mary, Widow, (GRO 1732/80). Will proved 1733. Jeynes died aged sixty-three. Her husband, John was a hosier.[1064] She purchased her High Street house from her deceased son. Jeynes had two other surviving sons and grandchildren.

Lewis, Sarah, Widow, (GRO 1733/183). Will proved 1733. She owned property in Barton Street. Lewis' son was under twenty-one. Her maiden name was Hanby; she had a brother

[1055] Day, *Tewkesbury*, pp. 201, 338-48.
[1056] Karen Banks, 'A Serving of Metropolitan Culture in Eighteenth-Century Tewkesbury', *Tewkesbury Historical Society*, 18 (2009), 9-12.
[1057] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 192.
[1058] Elizabeth Laight, 1700. *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 291-2.
[1059] Bennett, *The History of Tewkesbury* p. 422.
[1060] Day, *Tewkesbury*, pp. 217-219.
[1061] Banks, 'Not What They Want', 15-17.
[1062] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 201.
[1063] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 213.
[1064] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 341.

and sister. Her house was put in trust to her son.

Neale, Mr. John, Innholder, (GRO 1733/181). Will proved 1733. His daughter and daughter-in-law were to receive the value of a silver tankard after the decease of his wife.

Tomkins, John, Y*eoman,* (GRO 1733). Inventory made 1733, valued at £3. He owned basic goods.

Woodward, Alice, Widow, (GRO 1733/21). Will made 1733. She put money in trust to her married daughter.

1742/43

Hughes, Francis, C*ooper,* (GRO 1742/178). Will proved 1742. He served his apprenticeship with William Pompfrey, who died in 1693.[1065] Hughes gave his wife, Mary his house, cows, stock and household goods.

Millington, Samuel, Basket Maker, (GRO 1742/191). Inventory and will proved 1742, assessed at £18.03.00. Millington was apprenticed to his father, Thomas Millington and became a freeman in 1717.[1066] His daughter was under twenty-one and his married son received a Tewkesbury property. The wife and daughter received the house and goods.

Moore, William, Fisherman, (GRO 1742/74). Inventory proved 1742, valued at £5.02.06. He owned basic goods.

Rednall, Edward, Stocking Weaver (GRO 1742/174). Inventory proved 1742, valued at £19.10.00. He was apprenticed to Tobias Needham the younger; he became a freeman in 1741. His son, Tobias was also apprenticed to Needham; Rednall became a freeman in 1753 and was one of the early pioneers of cotton knitting in Tewkesbury.[1067]

Tovey, Anne, Spinster, (GRO 1742/252). Inventory and will made 1742, inventory valued at £16. Her clothes and money were valued at £2. Her sister was sole executrix and was given the house. Tovey owned a silver tankard, spoon and family rings.

Walker, Elizabeth, Married Woman, (GRO 1742/157). Will proved 1742. She died aged fifty-six and her maiden name was Millington. Her husband was the eldest son and apprentice of William Walker. He became a freeman in 1717 and was a gentleman.[1068] She gave her estate to her husband, after his decease, it passed to her sister, children and her kin.

Bubb, Kenelm, Y*eoman/Cotton Merchant,* (GRO 1743/98). Will proved 1743. He died aged eight-four and a widower. He married Elizabeth Fish in 1679 whilst working as a glover. His wife died in 1685 and Bubb married Hester Bradford, twenty years his junior. Two of his sons died in infancy, whilst another son died in the same year as Bubb aged sixty. He was born in 1683 and became a shoemaker. Bubb gave his son, houses in Church Street; these then went to his grandson, a carpenter in Worcester. Bubb owned another two houses; these he gave to other grandchildren. The alley behind his property was known as Kenelm Bubb's

[1065] William Pompfrey, 1692 *Tewkesbury Wills and Inventories*, ed. by Rennison and Talbot, pp. 251-2.
[1066] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 223.
[1067] Day, *Tewkesbury*, pp. 38, 233.
[1068] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 247.

Alley.[1069]

Carloss, Rachel, Widow, (GRO 1743/18). Will proved 1743. She was the second wife of John Carloss, senior, he died aged seventy.[1070] Her brother was cut her off. She gave her property to her son, a baker and her grandson.

Kedward, Mrs. Anna, Widow, (GRO 1743/254). Will proved 1743. She gave her brother, John Hancock her brewing tack; her brother Edward received £5. Her goods were divided between her three nephews without the involvement of their father.

Peyton, George, Dr. of Physic, (GRO 1743/173). Will proved 1743. Peyton died aged sixty-three.[1071] His brother was given *The George* inn and a meadow in Worcester. His wife was given his house in the High Street; they had no children.

Taylor, John, Butcher, (GRO 1743/170). Will proved in 1743. He died aged seventy-two. He became a freeman in 1700; his father was a butcher and became a freeman in 1683. He was apprenticed to John Harvey of Winchcombe.[1072] He left his land in Painswick, Gloucestershire to his wife.

1752/3

Keyes, Mathew, Y*eoman,* (GRO 1752/37). Inventory and will proved 1752, assessed at £1.06.10. Keyes wife, Hannah received their house in an alley in Church Lane.

Smith, Robert, Maltster, (GRO 1752/158). Will proved 1752. He was apprenticed to Giles Smith, a blacksmith and became a freeman in 1734.[1073] Smith was a widower with a married son and daughter, and a grandson under twenty-one. A servant, a widow was given £4, with coal and provisions.

Weston, Henry, Maltster, (GRO 1752/24). Will proved 1752. He was churchwarden 1746-9.[1074] Weston gave his mother his property by the High Street. He was unmarried.

Baker, Giles, Labourer, (GRO 1753/161). Will proved 1753. Baker had two properties in alleys in Barton Street. He was unmarried.

Cox, Laurence, Gentleman, (GRO 1753/132). Will proved 1753. Cox was churchwarden in 1750 and bailiff and freeman in 1751.[1075] His wife died in January 1752 and Cox died in March 1753; he was aged twenty-five.[1076] Cox gave his mother, his house; his brother received his house and another brother was given £100. His married sister was left £500.

Stock, Mary, Widow, (GRO 1752/6). Will proved 1753. Stock owned land and property in

[1069] Day, *Tewkesbury*, pp. 338, 349.
[1070] Day, *Tewkesbury*, pp. 338-48.
[1071] *Tewkesbury Abbey, History, Art and Architecture*, ed. by Richard K. Morris and Ron Shoesmith (Logaston: Logaston Press, 2003), pp. 223-4.
[1072] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 242.
[1073] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 238.
[1074] James Bennett, *The Tewkesbury Yearly Registar and Magazine, 1830-1839,* 1 (Tewkesbury: Bennett, 1840), p.119.
[1075] Bennett, *The Tewkesbury Yearly Register*, p. 119; Bennett, *The History of Tewkesbury*, p. 423.
[1076] Day, *Tewkesbury*, p. 338-48.

Boddington and a lease of a house in Tirley. These were given to her son. She also had a tenant in property at Barrow; this was given to her three daughters.

Tovey, Sarah, Spinster, (GRO 1753/46). Will proved 1753. Her sisters were Anne Tovey, a spinster who died in 1742, and Elizabeth Sparks.[1077] Tovey owned gold coins and silver items. Her cousin was made executor.

[1077] (GRO), Will, 1742/252, pp. 1-3, Anne Tovey, 1742.